



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

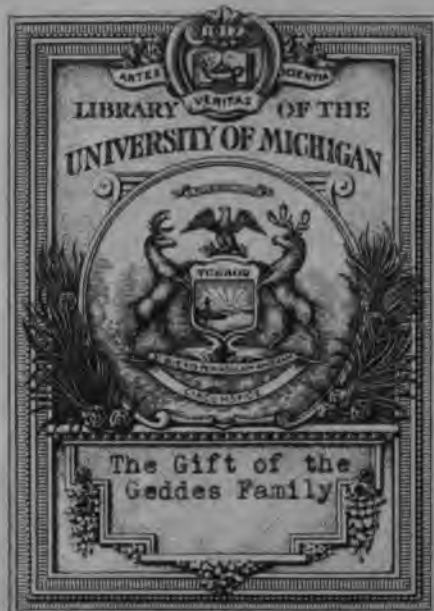
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B 1,278,454

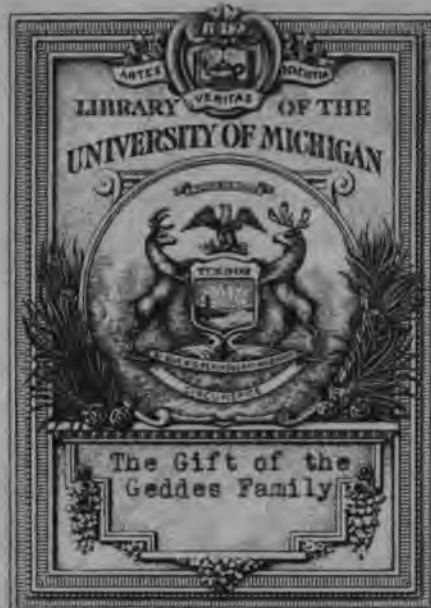




From the Library of  
F. L. Geddes, A.B. 1872  
Kate R. Geddes

DF  
214  
2965  
1892



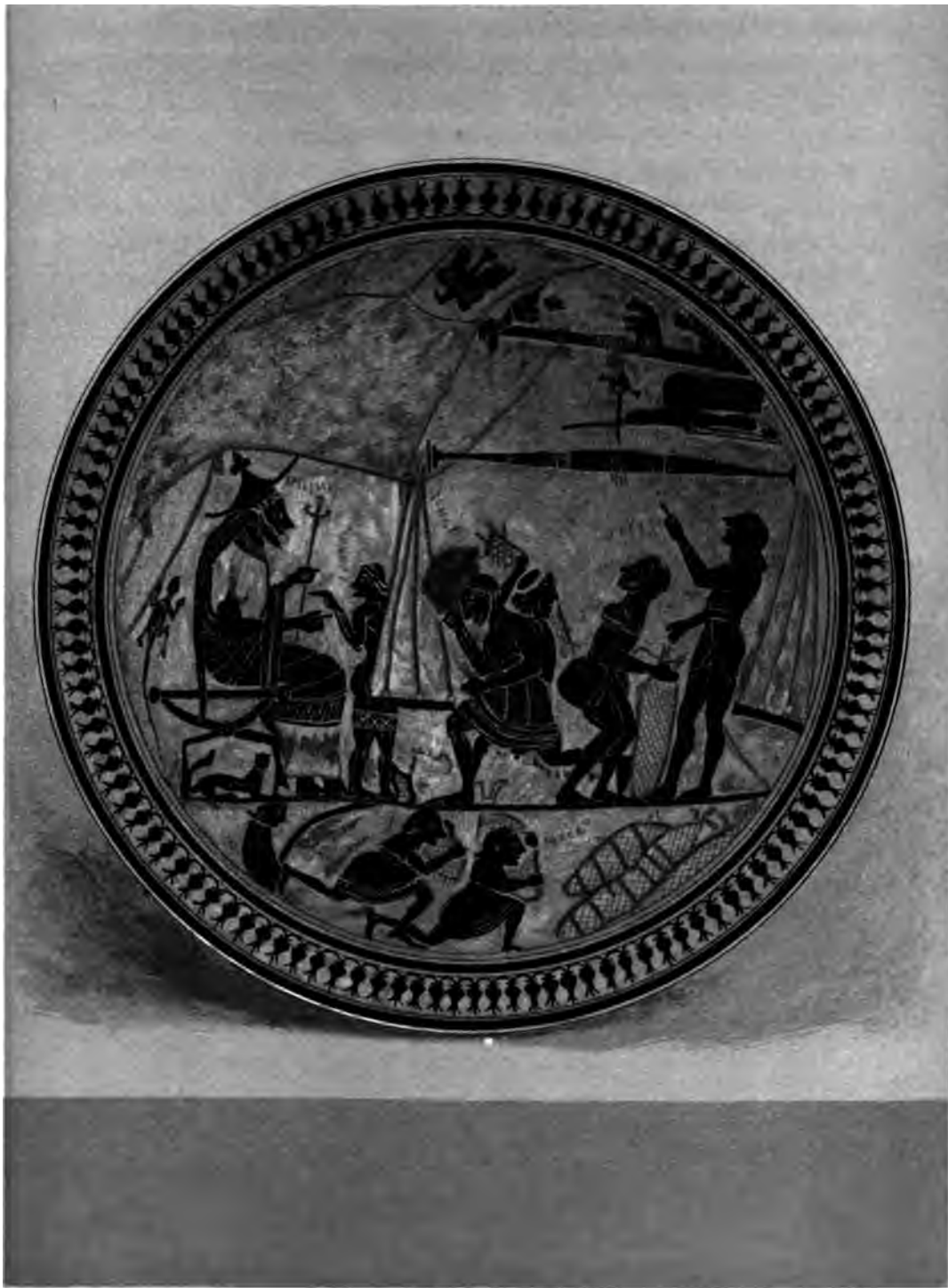


From the Library of  
F. L. Geddes, A.B. 1872  
Kate R. Geddes

DF  
214  
D96  
1896







Dambourgez chromolith.

Imp. Dufrénoy. Paris.

**CUP OF ARKESILAOS**  
(Cabinet de France,



EECE,

LE,

ONQUEST.

CTION,

LEY,

AND," ETC.

THOUGHT,"

Maps,

## CHAPTER V.

### MANNERS OF THE HEROIC AGE.

#### I. — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

THE Greeks very early relinquished a nomadic life, if, indeed, they ever followed it. The domestic religion which they brought from Asia must have led them always towards a settled life and private ownership, since each family required a piece of ground of its own on which to build a tomb for the dead and a home for the living. But it is not easy to depict this primitive social organization. What has been said of events must be repeated concerning modes of life. As we are obliged to abandon the attempt at deducing any authentic history from the ancient traditions, and to content ourselves with accepting certain facts taken in a general sense, so also we cannot attain greater precision concerning political and social institutions. At the same time, in this respect also the legend contains a portion of truth; namely, in the idea of the character of the prehistoric age which is given by the narrations which date from it, and especially, for an epoch comparatively modern, by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Considered as a whole, the legendary poetry deals with two periods. In the one Greece appears struggling in a state of barbarism against physical evils and wild beasts, against rapine and violence of every kind. This is the heroic age,—the time of Theseus and of Herakles. The other period shows a more civilized state, a more stable life, royal races held in honor, and domestic strifes for the moment suspended, for the sake of a great enterprise. In place of hostile tribes we see a people whose diverse elements are brought into permanent unity by the Trojan war. Manifestly in the first period strife is still going on between the

1



# HISTORY OF GREECE,

AND OF THE GREEK PEOPLE,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,  
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF ROME," ETC.

*TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY M. M. RIPLEY,*

TRANSLATOR OF DURUY'S "HISTORY OF ROME," GUIZOT'S "HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By J. P. MAHAFFY,

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY, AUTHOR OF "SOCIAL LIFE IN GREECE," "GREEK LIFE AND THOUGHT,"  
"STUDIES AND RAMBLES IN GREECE," ETC.

Containing over Two Thousand Engravings, including numerous Maps,  
Plans, and Colored Plates.

VOLUME I. — SECTION II.

BOSTON:  
ESTES AND LAURIAT.

1892.

IMPERIAL EDITION.

---

*This edition, printed on FINE IVORY-FINISH PAPER, is limited to  
seven hundred and fifty copies.*

*This is Copy No. 632.....*



*Copyright, 1889,*  
BY ESTES AND LAURIAT.



*Gift of the Odde Family*  
*4-5-32*

## HISTORY OF GREECE.

## CHAPTER V.

### MANNERS OF THE HEROIC AGE.

#### I. — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

THE Greeks very early relinquished a nomadic life, if, indeed, they ever followed it. The domestic religion which they brought from Asia must have led them always towards a settled life and private ownership, since each family required a piece of ground of its own on which to build a tomb for the dead and a home for the living. But it is not easy to depict this primitive social organization. What has been said of events must be repeated concerning modes of life. As we are obliged to abandon the attempt at deducing any authentic history from the ancient traditions, and to content ourselves with accepting certain facts taken in a general sense, so also we cannot attain greater precision concerning political and social institutions. At the same time, in this respect also the legend contains a portion of truth; namely, in the idea of the character of the prehistoric age which is given by the narrations which date from it, and especially, for an epoch comparatively modern, by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Considered as a whole, the legendary poetry deals with two periods. In the one Greece appears struggling in a state of barbarism against physical evils and wild beasts, against rapine and violence of every kind. This is the heroic age, — the time of Theseus and of Herakles. The other period shows a more civilized state, a more stable life, royal races held in honor, and domestic strifes for the moment suspended, for the sake of a great enterprise. In place of hostile tribes we see a people whose diverse elements are brought into permanent unity by the Trojan war. Manifestly in the first period strife is still going on between the

Hellenes and the Pelasgians, — between the new comers, that is to say, and the aboriginal inhabitants of the soil; in the second, the victory of the Hellenes is secured, and the unity of the nation established, although in Homer it has still no general name except Panachaïans.

The independence of the Greek character already manifests itself in the *Iliad*. There are no castes. The nobles are those who are the strongest and most active, the bravest, the most eloquent. It is because they possess these qualities that they are regarded as sons of the gods and receive respect and obedience. But any man may claim this origin if he can prove it by his valor. Between the people and the nobles there is no insurmountable barrier; no man may live slothfully upon any ancestral fame. As later among the Scandinavians, all things belong to the brave. Although he claims divine descent, the individual makes his own place, in the earliest times by bodily strength, later by intellect. How remote we are already from the motionless East! It is another civilization dawning, a new life of humanity about to begin. In the East, where the gods reign, all must remain changeless as divinity. Here man rules, all will be action, passion, boundless desires, audacious attempts; for him Prometheus has stolen the fire from heaven, and in giving him inspiration, by teaching him the arts, has broken his chains.

GOLD COIN.<sup>1</sup>

These “nurselings”<sup>2</sup> of the gods, who have received from Zeus the sceptre, and transmit it in hereditary succession, are considered mediators between their people and Heaven. When they rule wisely, the black earth brings forth abundant harvests, the trees bend under the weight of fruit, the flocks are fruitful, and the sea is rich in fish. But let the kings, “bribe-swallowing judges,”<sup>3</sup> render unjust sentences, and angry Zeus unchains the storm, the rivers overflow their banks, torrents rush from the mountains, and the fields are laid waste.<sup>4</sup> This is the poetic ideal; in reality, these kings are only the military or religious chiefs of their nation. The most powerful of them have for a palace, — where, in case of need,

<sup>1</sup> Harvester reaping. This harvester has sometimes received the name of Lityerses, the Phrygian hero, son of Midas, who himself harvested his grain. (Gold coin of uncertain coinage).

<sup>2</sup> Διοτρεφείς or διογενείς

<sup>3</sup> Βασιλῆας δωροφάγους (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, i. 38).

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey*, xix. 109–114, *Iliad*, xvi. 384–392.

they shut themselves up with their riches, — one of those enclosures of enormous stones bequeathed them by the Pelasgians, or constructed by themselves, following Pelasgian examples. In all matters of importance they consult the nobles around them. When they give decisions, it is with the advice of the wise men and ancients of the community; and by “ancients” we must not understand aged men, but nobles. It is they who, convoked by Agamemnon before Troy, send deputies to Achilles to appease his wrath. The revenues of the kings are voluntary gifts, the fruits of the land, a



AGAMEMNON RECEIVED BY HELEN IN THE ISLAND OF LEUKAS.<sup>1</sup>

larger part of the spoils, and, in the sacrifices, a double portion of the victims' flesh.<sup>2</sup> They have no insignia but a sceptre, no guards but heralds, and at assemblies they have the most honorable seat. There is no trace of that adoration, of those servile formalities which Oriental kings impose on those who approach them.

We find in the *Iliad*, it is true, that Agamemnon, “the king of men,” has a certain supremacy, but this is because an expedition into a distant country and a dangerous war require more con-

<sup>1</sup> Engraving on an Etruscan mirror in the *Cabinet de France* (*Catal.*, No. 3,124). Helen (*Elinai*), in rich Phrygian dress, seated on a throne, extends her hand to Agamemnon (*Achmemrun*), welcoming him to her kingdom, the Island of Leukas, one of the abodes of the blessed. Between these two personages is Menelaos (*Menle*), represented as a young man, holding in his left hand a dish, and in his right a lance. Behind Agamemnon is a Lasa, or secondary divinity (*Lasa Thimrae*), holding a little vase and a stylet. On the other side of Helen is Paris Alexandros (*Elehsntre*), crowned by a winged divinity (*Meon*), accompanied by a fawn. The last figure at the left is Aias (*Aefas*). Cf. Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spiegel*, iii. 177.

<sup>2</sup> This right of kings and military chiefs to an extra supply of food appears throughout Greek and Roman history, and even in the first ages of Christianity.

centration of authority. Moreover, Agamemnon joined to his title that which, at the time, made him especially respected, — power; he was himself among the bravest of the Greeks, and his army was the largest. See, however, how Achilles defies him and how Thersites insults him; see also, in the *Odyssey*, into what a condition these kings of the heroic age fell when, like Laertes, they bent under the weight of years, and to retain men's respect had



ACHILLEUS PUTTING ON HIS ARMOR.<sup>1</sup>

only the memory of their great deeds, or, like Nestor, the gift of eloquent speech. Frequently Odysseus is less the chief than the comrade of his followers; and the king of the Phoiakians is, like the Greek, surrounded in his island by those whom the poet calls βασιλῆες, kings, or ἄνακτες, masters, and who are also called “the good, the just.” These are the members of certain families beloved of the gods, from whom they are descended, and from whom they receive, as by hereditary right, strength, courage, and

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Louvre. The hero is represented surrounded by warriors; he has already put on his cuirass and his casque, and a servant is fastening a greave to his right leg. In the figure on the left wearing the pilos [a felt cap] we recognize Odysseus.



eloquence, — families, that is to say, who have won their rank by their courage, and retain it by their gallant deeds.<sup>1</sup> On the



AMPHION AND ZETHOS.<sup>2</sup>

field of battle all they claim is to have the posts of greatest danger, to encounter in single combat the bravest of the enemy; in

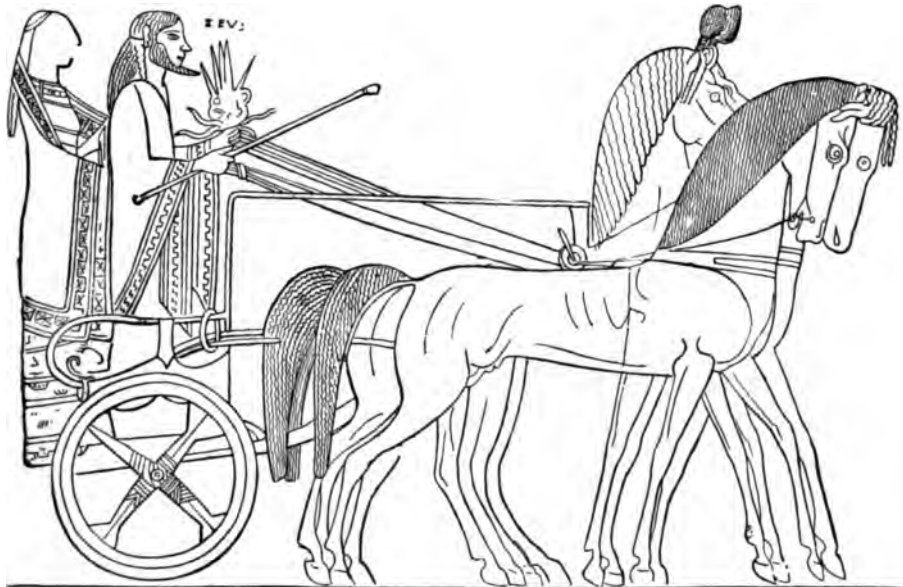
<sup>1</sup> Aristotle (iv. 6) regards as the essential attribute of rank the hereditary possession of wealth and virtue. But we know what the ancients meant by the latter word. For the Greeks, *ἀρετή* is derived from *ἄρως*, as among the Romans *virtus*, *vir*, and *vis* have the same root.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief, in marble, of the Palazzo Spada, from Braun, *Zwölf antike Basreliefs*, pl. iii. Amphion stands, lyre in hand, before his brother Zethos, who is seated before an altar of

the city, some few prerogatives, rather matters of honor than of profit. In times of peace they keep up military exercises in games which are a mimic warfare. Some of them play on the lyre, after the example of Amphion and Orpheus, and sing the lofty deeds of the brave, or listen to the Rhapsodies, which were held in great honor, for in preserving the genealogy of the heroes these ancient poems also preserved the glory of their descendants. Nor did these warriors scorn manual labor, any more than did Hephaistos, son of the king of the gods. One of them, slain before Troy, is celebrated by Homer as very skilful in all sorts of work, and on this account



ENGRAVED  
STONE.<sup>1</sup>



CHARIOT OF THE HEROIC AGE.<sup>2</sup>

specially beloved by Athene. Odysseus handles the axe as well as the spear. He is able to make for himself a bed and a boat.

**Artemis.** Artists and poets have delighted to represent the contrast in character between the twin sons of Antiope, the Boiotian Dioskouroi. — one a lover of song, and indeed himself the earliest of all singers; the other a rude hunter, who especially honored Artemis and decorated her altars.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved stone from Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, pl. xxxi. No. 8. Odysseus, abandoned in the Island of Ogygia, is occupied in making a raft; he has a hammer in his hand.

<sup>2</sup> Chariot of Zeus, on the François Vase, from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. iv., pl. liv.-lv., and W. Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkm. erläutert.*, fig. 18, p. 101. Upon the

Achilleus himself makes ready a banquet; and the skilful carpenter sits at the king's table at the side of seers, leeches, and inspired singers.

This aristocracy, however, was destined to endure for centuries, for it had for its protection not merely bodily strength and the traditional respect of the people, but also wealth. The club of Herakles and the lion's skin no longer sufficed to the warrior; he must have his chariot, his fiery steeds, and a suit of armor so costly that it was often believed to be a gift of the gods, and so strong that in the thick of the fight it gave the chief an immense advantage over the defenceless multitude. More than all this, these nobles exercise religious functions: they offer prayers, they sacrifice in behalf of the people; for their family gods are also the gods of the city. Religion consecrates their pre-eminence, and when the kings of the heroic age disappear, the Eupatrids will long remain masters of the State. But their moral qualities are scanty; virtue is the valor given by Ares, and piety the fear which Nemesis inspires.

Below the nobles, who formed the council of the king, and in battle the line of war-chariots, is the crowd of freemen; below them, the mercenaries, *θῆτες*, and a small number of slaves. The nobles form, on all important occasions, an assembly which gathers outside the circle of polished stones,<sup>1</sup> where the chiefs sit with the king in the middle of the agora. If as yet they take no part in the deliberations, at least they hear discussed in their presence all important interests, and by murmurs of approval or of displeasure they influence the decision about to be made. When a king has spoken, "the assembly swayed like high sea-waves of the Icarian Main that east wind and south wind raise, rushing upon

axle rests the body of the chariot (*δίφρος*), which protected the warrior only to the knee. It is open in the back, and has a piece of bent wood around the front, which serves as a balustrade; this was called *ἀντιξ*, and to it, when the chariot stopped, the reins were fastened. The pole (*ῥυμός*) was attached beneath the body of the chariot, and ended at the yoke; it was also attached above by a bent pole which comes nearly to the height of the hand of Zeus in the illustration. The yoke (*υγός*) is placed at the extremity of the pole, and fastened to it by a pin and by leather thongs (*ζυγόδεσμος*). Broad leather thongs (*λέπιδνα*), passed round the horses' necks, fasten them to the yoke.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 291, in the Agora of Mykenai, from Schliemann, pl. vi., a specimen of these constructions. In this circular wall, with the seat at its base, Dr. Schliemann recognizes "the circle of the agora" (Euripides, *Orestes*, 919). Within this enclosure, at the western extremity of the akropolis, were discovered the tombs so rich in ornaments of gold.

them from the clouds of father Zeus; and even as when the west wind cometh to stir a deep cornfield with violent blast, and all



ANTIQUE BRONZE CUIRASS FOUND IN THE BED OF THE ALPHEIOS.<sup>1</sup>

the ears bow down, so was the assembly stirred.”<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, Homer expresses the wish that Kalliope should be the constant companion of kings, to assuage by eloquence the tumult of the people.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. vii. (1883), pl. i.-iii. (W. J. Stillman). Of this cuirass there is only the back, where are visible, along the dorsal line, and in the neck of one of the figures, holes which may have been made by arrows. It is covered with archaic designs. On the upper part, over the shoulder-blades, are two lions and two bulls; between them two sphinxes and two lions, facing each other. The arrangement of these animals in parallel zones, and the manner in which they are treated, suggests the painting on vases of Oriental style. In the lower portion are six human figures; on the right, Apollo, followed by two goddesses, Leto and Artemis (?). Towards the god, who holds a lyre, three persons are advancing, of whom the foremost has a fillet round his head, and his right hand held out in an attitude of adoration.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* [English prose translation by Messrs. Lang, Leaf, and Myers, pp. 25-26].

<sup>3</sup> In the description of the shield of Achilleus, Homer depicts a scene where a cause is pleaded, and the ancients render a decision: “And the people were crowded together in an

We find, then, as far back as we can go in the history of Greece, the habit of assembling for public discussion. The necessity of convincing before commanding, sharpened the intellect of these men; all their faculties were thus held in hand, and ready for the most brilliant action.

We must further note that the condition of those who formed the mass of the people was better in the time of the Homeric kings than later under aristocratic governments; see in the *Odyssey* the relations of Odysseus with the swineherd Eumaios, once a slave.

This race, already so free in its political constitution, was even more so in its religious organization: it had no priests, or, to speak more accurately, no clergy as a separate class; no sacred book, like the Bible, the Vedas, or the Zendavesta,—that is to say, no body of consecrated doctrines; and this twofold fact is fundamental in the history of the intellectual development of the Hellenes. As the head of the family is priest in his own house, so the king is the chief priest of his city.

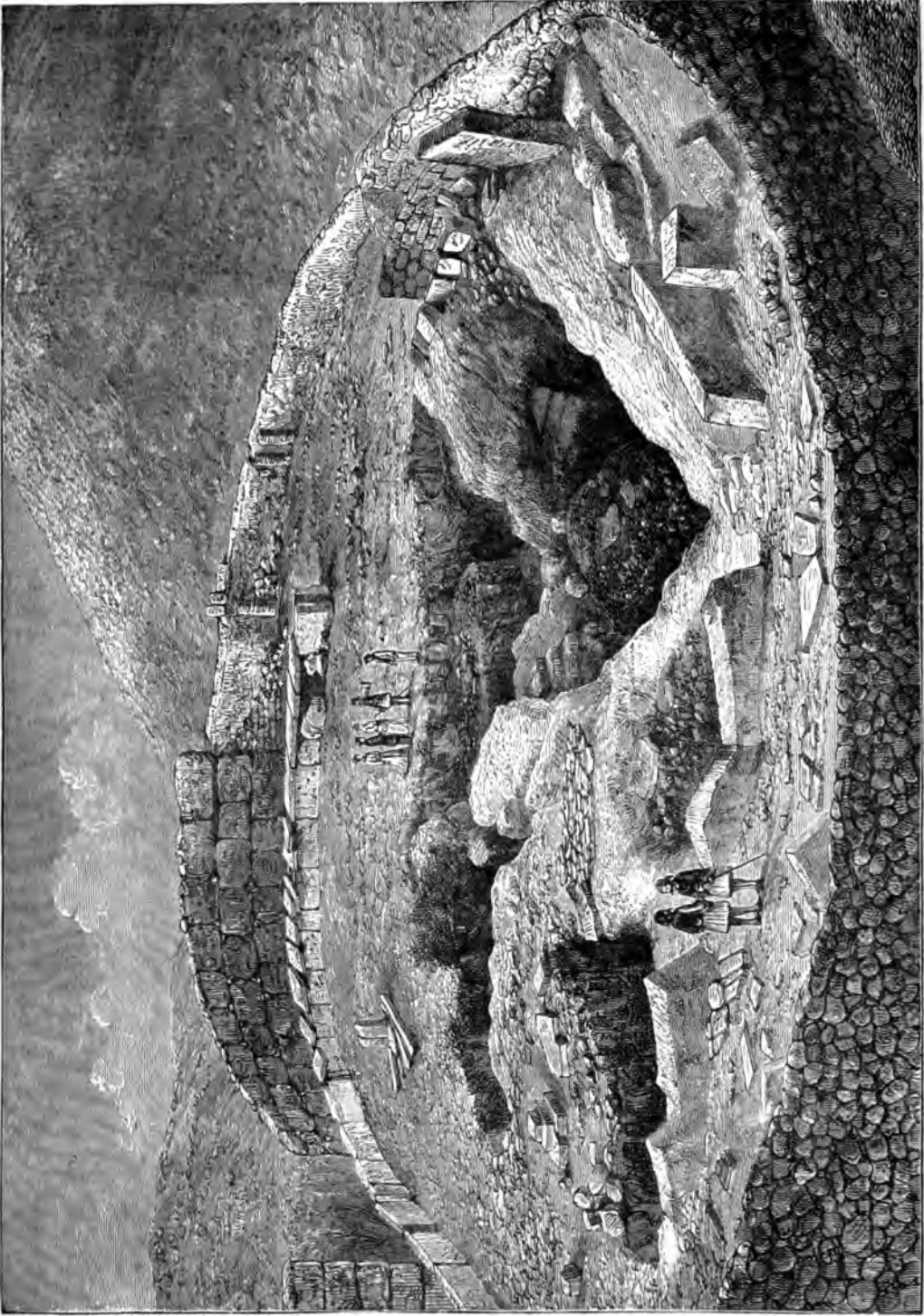
“Tis thine to rule the country’s altar-hearth,”

say the daughters of Danaos to the king of Argos.<sup>1</sup> He it is who offers the sacrifice for his people,—not, however, feeling himself thereby invested with a sacred character;<sup>2</sup> when he sacrifices in the name of the city, he fulfils a public function.

assembly, for there a contest had arisen, two men contending about the ransom-money of a slain man. The one affirmed that he had paid all, expounding to the people: but the other denied, averring that he had received nought; and both sought to find an end of the dispute before a judge. The people applauded both, supporters of either party, and the heralds kept order among the people; while the elders sat upon polished stones in the sacred circle, and held in their hands the staves of the clear-voiced heralds: with these, then, they arose, and alternately pleaded their cause. And in the midst lay two talents of gold, to be given to him who should best establish his claim among them” (*Iliad*, xviii. 497–508). See, in the *Annuaire pour la Société pour l’encouragement des Études grecques*, 1884, p. 90, the commentary of M. Dareste upon this passage.—The wand, or sceptre, which the elders took in hand before beginning a speech, was an indication that they then performed a public duty. This usage, though changed, was retained; Athens later had public orators. [See also Kennedy’s collection of the Homeric passages concerning lawsuits. — Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> Aischylos, *The Suppliants*, 370 [English translation by Dr. Plumptre, p. 150].

<sup>2</sup> An exception must be made in the case of the high-priest of the Kabeiroi of Samothrace, who was at the same time ruler of the island and perhaps also the priest of Apollo at Delos, —at least in the earliest times. But those who held even hereditary priesthoods were none the less citizens in all respects. A greater purity of morals was imposed on them. Many priest-hoods were held by women: the priestess of Demeter wore a wreath of poppies and ears of



AGORA OF MYKENAI





But superstition is one of the most natural instincts of the human race, and worship never limits itself to a simple act of adoration or gratitude towards the Supreme Being. All races of man have sought to pluck from the future the secrets which it will forever keep, and all have had sorcerers, magicians, or, like the Greeks, diviners interpreting celestial signs, fanatics who saw the invisible world, epileptic seers, like the Pythia at Delphi, who felt the god move within them and express his will. The Greeks believed these prophets to be in direct communication with the divinity, and consulted them with full confidence. Thus the temple of Dodona had its sacred doves, and its secular oaks which whispered as the wind passed through their branches, while three priestesses, the Peleïades, interpreted the confused sound. The oracles of Apollo, received through the Pythia, were transmitted by the priests; and Orpheus accompanied the Argonauts both to enliven their long voyage with his music, and also to explain celestial signs. The most famous soothsayers were Amphiaraos, who accompanied the seven chiefs in the first war against Thebes, Teiresias and his daughter Manto among the Thebans, and Kalchas, who was with the Greeks in the Trojan war.

TETRADRACHM.<sup>1</sup>

It was also believed that the gods sent to men, by dreams or by thunderbolts, important intimations, threats, and promises.<sup>2</sup> Certain families even were believed to possess, by hereditary right, divine inspiration, or the privilege of being specially pleasing to the gods in the performance of religious mysteries.<sup>3</sup> These were

corn; the priestess of Athene, at Athens, wore the ægis, the cuirass, and the helmet. The temple of Dionysos in Athens was served by fourteen virgins, like the Roman vestals. Many priestesses were obliged to take the vow of chastity, as appears by passages in Pausanias. The priests of Artemis of Ephesos were eunuchs. But these privations, like certain other abstinences, seem to have been in no way connected with the Christian idea of mortification of the flesh. Upon this question, see Maury, vol. ii., chap. xiv. Later there existed many religious brotherhoods, of which I shall speak in Chapters XV. and XXVII.

<sup>1</sup> Head of the Delphic Pythia, on a tetradrachm of Syracuse. The hair stands erect, and the head is surrounded with fillets. Around her are dolphins. (See A. de Longpérier, *Œuvres*, published by G. Schlumberger, vol. iii. p. 409.)

<sup>2</sup> A thunderbolt falling to the right was a favorable omen (*Iliad*, ii. 353).

<sup>3</sup> Thus, among the Elians the Telliadai, the Klytiadai, and the Iamidai; at Eleusis, the Eumolpids and Kerykes; at Athens, the Eteoboutadai; at Thebes, the Aigidai; at Sparta and Sikyon, the priests of Apollo Karneios; at Delphi, the descendants of Deukalion.

doubtless the last remnant of ancient theocratic races deprived by revolutions of their temporal authority. In the belief of the Greeks, some god was the ancestor of these honored families. Pindar,



AMPHIAROS, TYDEUS, AND ADRASTOS.<sup>1</sup>

celebrating a conqueror in the Olympic games who was a descendant of an Iamid soothsayer, relates how the prophetic gift came to this family:—

“The dark-haired girl Evadne was reared on the banks of the Alpheios, and was there beloved by Apollo; and there, laying aside her girdle woven with purple woof and her silver ewer, under dark bushes she brought forth a

<sup>1</sup> Engraving on an Etruscan mirror, from Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. i., pl. clxxviii., and p. 171. Before Adrastus (*Atrste*), seated at the left, are Tydeus (*Tute*) and Amphiaros (*Amphiare*), who are speaking to him. Tydeus is standing, and holds in his hand a bracelet. We may perhaps see here an allusion to the treachery of Eriphyle, sister of Adrastus and wife of Amphiaros. She for a gold necklace betrayed to Polyneikes her husband's place of concealment. The soothsayer knew that the enterprise was destined to be unsuccessful, and concealed himself to avoid joining in it.

boy instinct with divinity. To her the deity of the golden locks sent to assist her gentle Eileithyia and the Fates, and Iamos was born. Him, in her anguish, she left upon the ground, and by the counsel of the gods two bright-eyed serpents caring for him, nourished him with the harmless venom of bees. . . . He, when he had come to the ripeness of golden-crowned youth, descending by night into the midst of the Alpheios, under the open sky, called upon wide-ruling Poseidon, his grand-sire, and on the bow-bearing guardian of heaven-founded Delos, asking that honor might be upon his head for the rearing of a people. And the infallible voice of his father answered and said unto him: 'Arise, my son, come hither, following my voice into a land where all men shall meet.' So they came to the steep rock of lofty Kronion. There the god granted him a double treasure of divination: first, to hear the voice that cannot lie, and next, when daring Herakles, noble offspring of the Alkeidai, should found for his father the thronged festival and the mightiest law of games, then he commanded him to establish an oracle on the summit of the altar of Zeus. From which time much renowned among the Hellenes is the race of the Iamidai. Wealth, too, followed, and honoring valor, they come into a glorious path."<sup>2</sup>

MARBLE STATUE.<sup>1</sup>

But these soothsayers, and even the colleges of priests who had the exclusive right to perform certain functions, as those of Zeus at Dodona, and of Apollo at Delphi, did not form a class separate from the other citizens, and never as priests took any special part in affairs of state. Greece, in a word, had neither sacerdotal nor military caste.

<sup>1</sup> Victim-killer bearing a calf. Archaic statue in marble, found upon the Athenian Akropolis; from a photograph. The garment, in very low relief, was doubtless made effective by color; the eyes were of some different material.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympic Odes*, vi. 50-117 [English prose translation, by Ernest Myers, pp. 19-21].

## II. — THE FAMILY ; INDUSTRY.

As in all barbaric communities, violence came before justice, and homicide was frequent. "Our ancestors," says Aristotle, "always bore arms. At Kume, the law regarding murder required, for condemnation, that the accuser should bring forward as witnesses a certain number of his own relatives."<sup>1</sup> These are

ODYSSEUS.<sup>2</sup>

the *cojuratores* of the German law; and this custom attests that if it were necessary to have witnesses in order to obtain justice, it was also necessary to have spears to defend a man against the *vendetta* of the family of the person condemned. Naturally manners were simple, because men were poor; and there was a liberty unknown to the Eastern nations, because each man had need of other men. In heroic Greece a servile class can scarcely be said to have existed; captives taken in war, or purchased, are less slaves than servants. The dying Alkestis extends her hand to her slaves for the last farewell.

Eumaios had hoped that Odysseus, on his return to Ithaka, would give him a house, a field, and a wife; when he meets his master's son, he kisses him on the forehead and eyes. But the old swineherd has already uttered the sentiment which all Greece, even the philosophers, repeated at a later day: "Zeus takes away half a man's worth when the day of slavery seizes hold of him."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France* (Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, No. 3,057), which has been believed to represent Odysseus wearing the pilos, and carrying on his left arm a ram, in memory of the ram of Polyphemos, which saved him. According to Chabouillet, the right hand doubtless held the stake with which he put out the eye of the Cyclops.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, xvii. 322.

The condition of the slave is endurable,<sup>1</sup> that of the woman is honored. Here domestic society, the family, is better constituted than among the Oriental races, the Jews excepted,<sup>2</sup>—a sure presage that political society will also be better organized, more just and more free.<sup>3</sup> Polygamy is prohibited, but not concubinage. The Greek wife is still purchased,<sup>4</sup> it is true, but she is no longer con-



POLYXENE, DAUGHTER OF PRIAM, AND TROILOS AT THE FOUNTAIN.<sup>5</sup>

demned to the obscurity and solitude of the harem ; she lives in the open air, — or at least in the early period ; later her existence seems to be more restricted. At Athens she was shut up in the *gynaikonitis*, and her condition before the law was one of inferiority.<sup>6</sup> Excluded from heirship to her husband, made the ward of her son, she is a

<sup>1</sup> See, in the *Odyssey*, the condition of the servants of Odysseus ; he promises those who remain faithful that they shall be treated as if they were the brothers of Telemachos.

<sup>2</sup> We must make an exception in the case of Egypt, where, according to M. Paturet (*La condition juridique de la femme dans l'ancienne Égypte*, 1885), the wife was her husband's equal.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *Polit.*, LIV. ii. 5, 11 : "Our fathers bought and sold their wives." Agamemnon says to Achilles that he will give him one of his daughters in marriage without asking gifts (*ἀνέδνον*) (*Iliad*, ix. 146) ; and Hector gave to Andromache *μυρία ἑδνα* (*Ib.*, xxii. 472). Cf. Pausanias, III., xii.

<sup>4</sup> We see in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* that the employment of nurses to teach children a foreign tongue was practised as early as the time of the unknown author of the *Homeric Hymns*.

<sup>5</sup> Painting on a vase, from the *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1850. tav. d' agg., E., F., 1. Polyxene and her brother Troilos, the youngest son of Priam, approach the fountain, one to fill the hydraia which she carries in her arms, the other to water his horses. On the fountain is a crow, whose presence and cries announce the disaster which threatens Troilos. Achilles is, in fact, hidden behind the fountain, and Troilos cannot escape him. Cf. Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 339.

<sup>6</sup> Euripides, referring to the customs of his time, speaks of the wife buying the husband. *χορημάτων ὑπερβολῇ*, that is to say, with her dowry.

minor all her life. The links of the chain laid upon her by ancient servitude were not entirely broken. At the same time there had been, even then, some gain for her, inasmuch as her dowry, becoming her own possession, made her future secure. At the period of



ODYSSEUS MAKING HIMSELF KNOWN TO NAUSIKAA.<sup>1</sup>

which we now speak, some wives had already the dignity of the Roman matron, and suffered no rivals.<sup>2</sup> Laertes buys Eurykleia "while she was still in the prime of youth ;<sup>3</sup> he did not make her

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenb.*, vol. iii., pl. ccxviii. Odysseus, entirely unclad, appears in front of a tree on which are hung the clothes which Nausikaa and her companions have just washed. The hero, a suppliant, has a wreath on his head and holds a branch in each hand ; beside him is his protectress, Pallas Athene, who is to restore courage to the daughter of Alkinoös. Nausikaa indeed is about to flee, but turns back to look at Odysseus, while her alarmed companion is running straight towards the three women who are engaged in washing. Cf. *Odyssey*, vi. 127 *et seq.*, and Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 756.

<sup>2</sup> See, in the *Seven against Thebes* of Aischylos, the stern words of Eteokles to the young Theban girls, who wail as the Chorus : —

"I ask you, O ye brood intolerable,  
Will it give heart to our beleaguered host  
That ye before the forms of guardian gods  
Should wail and howl, ye loathed of the wise ?  
Ne'er be it mine, in ill estate or good,  
To dwell together with the race of women ;  
For when they rule, their daring bars approach,  
And when they fear, alike to house and state  
Comes greater ill. . . .

. . . Things outdoors are still  
The man's to look to : let not woman counsel.  
Stay thou within, and do no mischief more."

[Dr. Plumptre's translation, pp. 55-56.]

At Athens women were never present at meals, and Solon limits their privilege of going outside the city. To certain magistrates was assigned the duty of keeping watch upon their conduct ; moreover, they were not allowed to appear in public except in a prescribed dress.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, i. 430. "It is not good," says Euripides (*Androm.*, v. 672), "that a man have two wives."

his companion, for he avoided the anger of his wife." As the hero does not disdain manual labor, the woman has for her share domestic toils. The daughters of kings go themselves to draw water at fountains, like the fair Nausikaa and like Polyxene, daughter of Priam. Andromache feeds the horses of Hektor, Helen works at marvellous embroideries, and Penelope subdues the impatience of her suitors by showing them the shroud she



ACHILLEUS AND BRISEIS.<sup>1</sup>

is weaving for Laertes, her aged father-in-law, — a web of which she unravels by night what she has done in the day: "What would the Grecian women say if I should leave this hero without a shroud when the cruel Fate delivers him to death!" And how pathetic is the parting scene between Andromache and Hektor!

However, in that age when strength and courage are chiefly honored, infidelity to plighted faith is not an unpardonable crime;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a vase made by Euxitheos, from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenbild.*, vol. iii., pl. clxxxvii. Achilles (ΑΧ[αλλε]VS) is in full armor; Briseis ([Βρι]SEIS), richly clad, holds a flower in her hand.

<sup>2</sup> Adultery was never severely punished. The guilty woman was merely branded with infamy; she could not wear certain ornaments, or be present at public sacrifices. If she did



the word νόμος, which signifies the moral law, does not occur in Homer, nor does the word Eros. Love as then understood was limited to the desires typified by the cestus of Aphrodite, "the brodered girdle, wherein are all her enchantments, . . . love and desire, and loving converse, that steals the wits even of the wise."<sup>1</sup> The intense emotions kindled by love belong to another age, and will be sung by other poets. Helen, brought back to Sparta into the house of Menelaos, is there received as wife and queen. Andromache and Penelope are Homer's models of conjugal devotion; Alkestis, Laodameia, Evadne, dying for their husbands or unwilling to survive them, are to him unknown. Klytaimnestra, Anteia, Phaidra, Alkmene, and all the women carried off or beguiled by heroes and gods, show the indulgence felt by the men of that age towards frailties of which they had so often been the cause.<sup>2</sup> A fine was the only penalty for the adulterer, and even at this early period there was but little compassion shown for the unfortunate husband.

He on his part was not understood to promise a rigorous fidelity; the female captives formed a sort of harem for the chiefs. There were a crowd of them in Priam's palace, although "the august Hekabe" alone had, like Penelope at Ithaka, the title and honors of wife and queen. In his dwelling Odysseus had fifty captives; and there is jealousy in his anger against them that they had allowed themselves to be seduced by the suitors. When, before making himself known, he overhears their laughter and merriment, "his heart growled within him," and he meditated killing them; but this would have been to compromise the success of his enterprise. "Smiting his breast, he chided his heart in words: 'Endure it now, my heart; a baser thing thou once didst bear, on that day when the Cyclops, unrestrained in fury, devoured the mighty men of my company; but still thou didst endure till thy craft found a way for thee forth from out the

not observe these prohibitions, it was allowable to tear off her ornaments, rend her garments, even strike her, but not wound her (Aischines, *Adv. Timarch.*, 74). In respect to the adulterer, the chastisement was humiliating and grotesque, rather than penal.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xiv. 216-17 [prose trans., p. 280].

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias (VIII. xii. 5 and 6) was shown near Mantinea a tomb, called by local tradition Penelope's. Expelled from Ithaka by Odysseus, she was said to have gone thither to hide her dishonor and terminate her life. Let us disregard these slanderous rumors and believe the poet.

cave where thou thoughtest to die.'” After the death of the suitors he caused twelve of these women to be strangled. It is like a scene in a seraglio.

Notwithstanding these too famous examples, family ties were strong, paternal authority was respected, even by sons arrived at maturity, for a father's curse brought inevitable woes. Priest of the household, he made the libations at the tombs of ancestors and kept alive on the domestic hearth the fire which must never go out until the male line became extinct. The children share the inheritance equally among themselves, for individual ownership, the principle of all social progress, was already recognized in these early days. If a murder were committed, the price of blood, τὰ ὑποφόνια, was paid, even by the king; and when the kindred of the victim refused to receive it, the murderer could only flee from before the combined vengeance of the family or the tribe, for every man belonging to it held himself personally injured.<sup>2</sup>

These animosities that only blood can appease, lead our minds to the vast forests of ancient Germany and of the New World. But the savage warriors of Odin and of the Great Spirit have nothing in common with the Homeric heroes, with this Greek race which makes itself loved in spite of its faults, its frauds, and its deeds of violence, for the reason that no other people has



PENELOPE.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marble statue in the Vatican (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*), from Raoul Rochette, *Monum. inéd. d'antiq. fig.*, pl. xxxii. 1, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 834, No. 2,090. The name given to this statue is justified by a series of figures resembling this, but more clearly marked as representations of Penelope by the basket filled with wools at her side. The expression of sadness in her face is also significant. (Cf. Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 807.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Iliad*, ix. 632, speech of Aias, son of Telamon, to Odysseus, and on the same topic, p. 296 of this volume.

better developed the affectionate and poetic sentiments of our nature. When the nurse of Odysseus, at sight of the suitors lying dead, breaks forth into exclamations of joy, her master says to her: "Within thine own heart rejoice, O old nurse, and be still and cry not aloud, for it is an unholy thing to boast over slain men." Even the cold and austere Aristotle writes: "It is very pleasant to oblige and assist our friends and companions, and strangers."<sup>1</sup> With that vivid imagination which made them so quickly create an enchanting poetry, with hearts open to the noblest sentiments, the Greeks seem endowed with eternal youth. Like each of us at that period of existence, they love with ardor all beautiful things, and endow even the four winds of heaven with that conscious and sentient life so strong and full in themselves that it overflows upon inanimate Nature and makes it alive. Here were no long repasts and coarse gratifications, as among Northern races; no habit of intoxication.<sup>2</sup> As in their banquets, graced by the lyre of Apollo and the song of the Muses, his own gods tasted only the nectar and ambrosia which filled their veins with pure and immortal blood, the Greek himself prefers only a light and sober repast; it is quickly eaten, and from the pleasures of the table he turns away to games, athletic sports, dances, the songs of his bards.<sup>3</sup> The stranger who knocks at his door is made welcome, without indiscreet curiosity, even were he a banished man or a homicide, "for the guest and the beggar are sent by Zeus:" religion makes this a law to him. "The wretched man whom you drive from your door perhaps is a god in disguise," says Alkinoös.<sup>4</sup> The anger

<sup>1</sup> *Polit.*, ii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Temperance to-day, as three thousand years ago, is one of the features of Greek manners which religion has strengthened. There are only a hundred and thirty days in the year on which abstinence is not a religious duty.

<sup>3</sup> See in the *Iliad*, xxiii., the games which Achilleus causes to be celebrated at the funeral of Patroklos, and in the *Odyssey* those which Alkinoös orders to celebrate the arrival of Odysseus, — boxing contests, wrestling, leaping, and running.

<sup>4</sup> At Delphi every nine years was celebrated the *Stepterion*, — a festival commemorative of Charila. In a time of famine the men of Delphi, with their wives and children, went as suppliants to the king's door and received from him meal and vegetables. Notwithstanding urgent entreaties and outcries, he could not give to all, because he had not a sufficient supply, and he harshly repulsed an orphan named Charila, and even, angry at her importunities, threw his sandal in her face. Humiliated by this affront, abandoned by all, the young girl retired into the mountains and hung herself with her own girdle. The gods avenged her: a pestilence broke out, which did not cease until, at the order of the Pythia, the shade of Charila

of the Greek is terrible. On the field of battle he spares not the fallen, he insults the dead body of his enemy, or leaves it to birds of prey; but he cherishes no hatred which cannot be appeased, no vengeance which cannot be turned away by gifts and entreaties, "those lame but tireless daughters of great Zeus, who follow Injury to heal the wounds that she has made, and can always pacify the brave." With his expansive nature the Greek had need of friends; each warrior has his comrade in



PLAYERS ON THE LYRE AND FLUTE.<sup>1</sup>

arms; Herakles and Iolaos, Theseus and Peirithoös, Orestes and Pylades who are willing to die for one another, Achilles and Patroklos, Idomeneios and Meriones, Diomedes and Sthenelos form these indissoluble ties, of which self-devotion is the chief law. Ten years after his return to Sparta, Menelaos still remained shut up in his palace, lamenting for the friends whom he had lost under the walls of Troy.

Later were developed two unworthy traits in the Hellenic character, — venality and deceit. In every Achilles of the later age there was a Sinon; but even then there was never a Thersites.

was appeased by a sacrifice, and the institution of a festival where a distribution of meal and vegetables was made to all, even to foreigners (Plutarch, *Greek Questions*, 12).

<sup>1</sup> A vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenbild.*, vol. iv., pl. cccv.—cccv. 2. To the top of the lyre is attached the plectron, with which the player strikes the strings. See also a statuette of a flute-player, from Dodona, represented on p. 185 of this volume.

At funerals it was usual to put a piece of money in the mouth of the dead, to pay his passage in Charon's boat across the Styx, and sometimes in his hands a honey-cake to pacify Kerberos.<sup>1</sup> The body, carefully washed and perfumed, was clothed in fine garments, the head wreathed with flowers, and laid upon a bed,



ORESTES AND ELEKTRA AT THE TOMB OF AGAMEMNON.<sup>2</sup>

the feet turned towards the door, since the dead was about to set forth on the great journey. Then began the lamentations, *θρήνοι*,<sup>3</sup> — a custom yet existing among many peoples

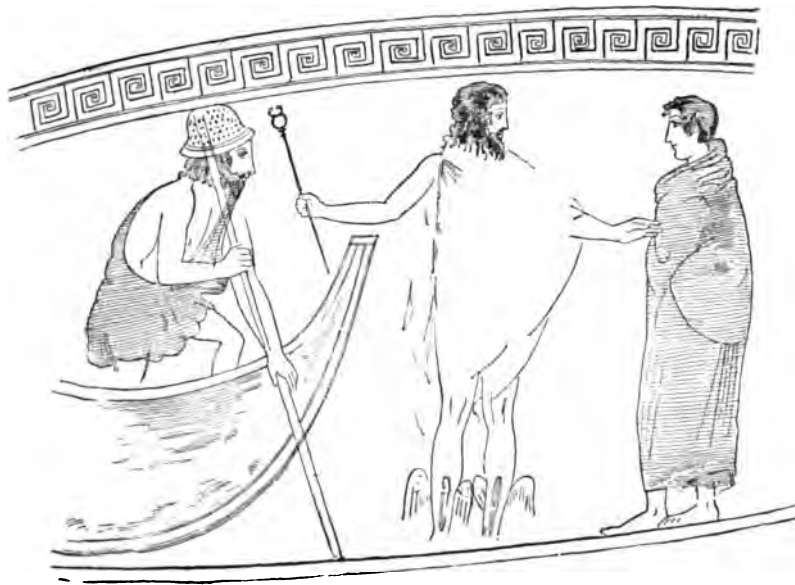
At the entrance of the house was placed a vase filled with lustral water, with which those who went out were sprinkled, — a

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes in *Lysistrata*, 600–607, enumerates the rites performed at funerals.

<sup>2</sup> Stamped plaque of terra-cotta in the Louvre (the inscriptions are doubtless modern). Elektra is seated at the foot of the stela of Agamemnon. She has come to offer libations to his manes, as is indicated by the vase at her side, and abandons herself to her grief. Behind her stands the servant or nurse who accompanies her, and who seems, to judge from her open mouth, to be groaning loudly. Before Elektra, and leaning towards her, is her brother Orestes, he is speaking to her gently, for the moment is that when he has just arrived from Phokis, and before he has made himself known to her. At his left is his horse, and behind him Pylades and a servant bearing a package on his shoulders. (For similar representations, see Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, pp. 683–693.)

<sup>3</sup> See the funeral of Hektor, in Homer, *Iliad*, xxiv. 719 *et seq.*

custom which we have preserved, like so many other of those ancient rites which Christianity has not been able or has not cared to abolish. On the morning of the third day the corpse, lying upon its state-bed, was carried by the relatives to the place of burial; the procession was led by flute-players, filling the air with sad music, and behind them walked the mourners, voluntary or hired. The usage of interring the dead preceded the cremation which Lykourgos prohibited at Sparta; the latter custom, as being more costly, always remained less general.<sup>2</sup>

KERBEROS.<sup>1</sup>HERMES, CONDUCTOR OF SOULS, AND CHARON.<sup>3</sup>

At the side of the dead man were placed, doubtless in ancient times, rude idols to protect him in the other life, and later, graceful figurines recalling his childish games, or the servants whom he had loved and who would again amuse or serve him;<sup>4</sup> and there

<sup>1</sup> Kerberos; under him, a tunny-fish. On the reverse, an indented square. (Hemistater of electron, of Kyzikos.)

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Painting on a white lekythos of Athens, from É. Pottier, *Étude sur les lécythes blancs attiques à représentations funéraires*, pl. iii. Hermes, identified by his winged ankles and his caduceus, grasps by the hand an ephebos wrapped in a mantle, and shows to him Charon; the ferryman is standing up in his boat, and leans upon his pole. In tombs which have been opened, it has been usual to find between the teeth a coin, — the passage-money for crossing the Styx.

<sup>4</sup> Many theories have been set forth as to the figurines found in tombs. No absolutely satisfactory explanation has yet been given.

were hung on the tombs wreaths and garlands, as is the custom at the present day. Often at the funerals of illustrious persons games were celebrated. Returning, a banquet was served in the



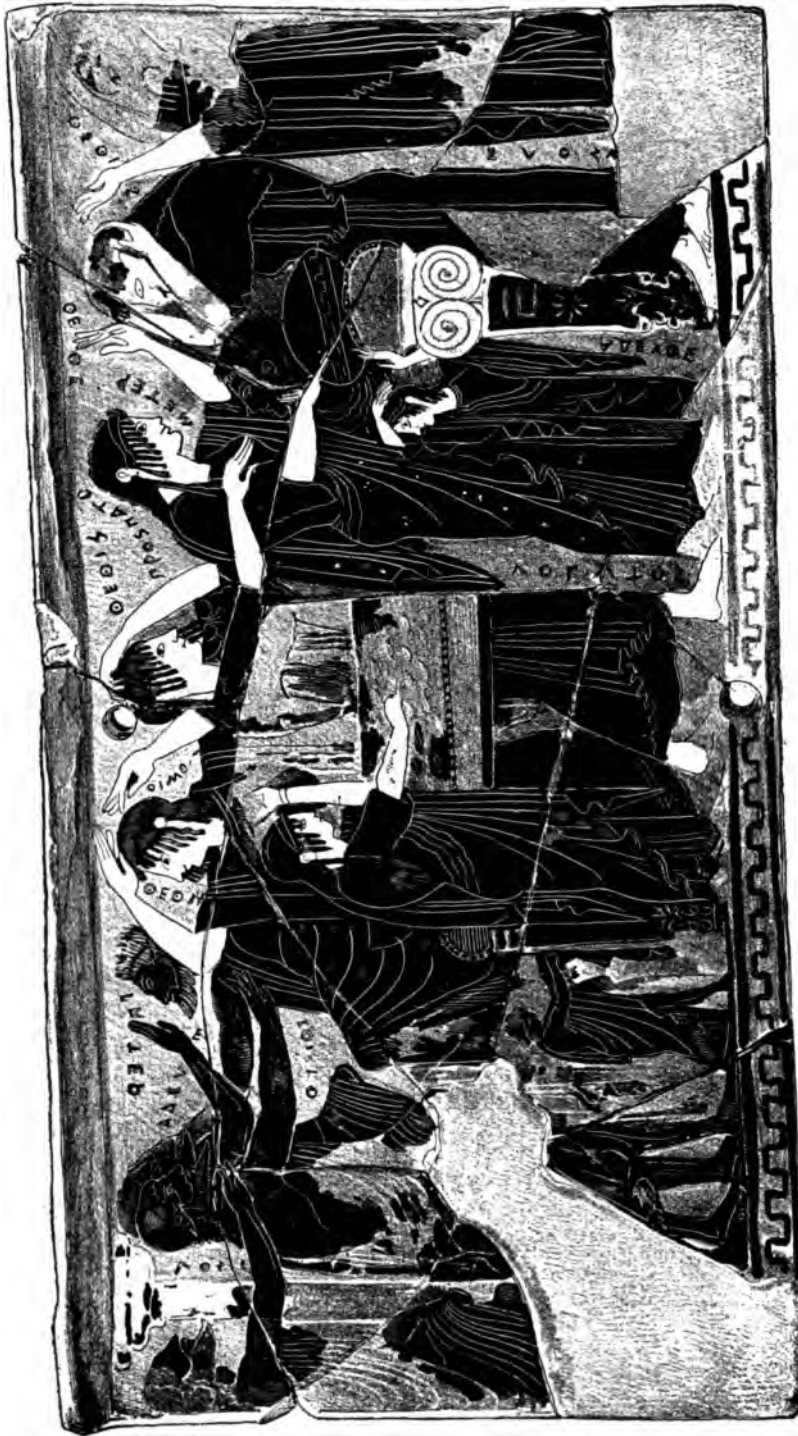
LYING IN STATE OF ARCHEMOROS.<sup>1</sup>

house of the dead man or his nearest relative, as is now the custom in rural districts, and was usual even in Paris not very long ago.<sup>2</sup> The period of mourning lasted thirty days at Athens; not

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a vase in the Museum of Naples, from Gerhard, *Akademische Abhandlungen*, Atlas, plates i.-iv. (The engraving gives but one of the scenes painted on this great amphora.) In the centre, lying on a state-bed, and wrapped in a shroud, is the young Archemoros (ΑΡΧΕΜΟΡΟΣ), killed by a dragon. At the side of the body, an old woman is about to lay a wreath upon the head; under the bed is an oinochoë. Over the dead boy a woman holds an umbrella open. (The two persons behind this figure are modern restorations.) At the right approaches rapidly the old pedagogue (ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΣ), leaning on a stick with curved handle, and holding in his hand a lyre, in allusion to the lessons he had given his pupil. Two serving-men follow, each bearing on his head a table covered with objects. The first holds in his right hand a bag which may contain the huckle-bones used by the boy, and other small objects to be deposited in the tomb; on the table are five vases ornamented with fillets, which are to be used for libations. The second attendant carries in his hand the strigil and vial of oil; upon his table are vases destined, no doubt, to be placed in the tomb. (See Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, pp. 116 *et seq.*; Heydemann, *Vases du Museo Nazionale à Naples*, No. 3,255, p. 586.)

<sup>2</sup> At least, I have seen such in my childhood outside the walls of Paris.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a scene of funeral lamentations from a painted plaque of terra-cotta, found in Attika, and now in the Louvre. (Cf. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. i., pp. 3 *et seq.* The fragment completing the plaque in the upper right-hand corner had not been found at the time when this work was published.) The painter represents the *πρόθεσις*, or lying in state of a corpse, which takes place in the interior of the house, as appears from a column at the left. Around the body are grouped the members of the family, the women on one side, the men on the other. Near the bed are the mother (ΜΕΤΕΡ) and the grandmother (ΘΕΤΕ); then the aunts (ΘΕΤΙΣ), of whom one, immediately behind the mother, is perhaps the paternal aunt (ΘΕΤΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΤΡ[ός]); in front are the young sisters (ΑΔΕΥΦΕ) of the dead. All express their grief with violent gestures; either they raise one hand, as if about to tear their hair, and stretch the other hand towards the dead, or else they grasp the head with both hands. Farther off, at the left, is the chorus of men, the father (ΠΑΤΕΡ), and brothers (ΑΔΕΥΦΟΣ). All extend the right arm, and with head thrown back chant "the lamentable hymn," which the father has begun and leads,



LYING IN STATE AND FUNERAL LAMENTATIONS.





so long at Sparta. On the third day, the ninth, and the thirtieth, sacrifices and libations to the dead were offered; the same also on the anniversary of decease. Aischylos attributes to the Persians the customs of Greece when he makes Atossa recount to the old men of Susa the rites that she has performed at the tomb of Darius: —

“ . . . I thus issued forth  
 From out my palace, to my son's sire bringing  
 Libations loving, gifts propitiatory,  
 Meet for the dead; milk pure and white from cow  
 Unblemished, and bright honey that distils  
 From the flower-working bee, and water drawn  
 From virgin fountain, and the draft unmarred  
 From mother wild, bright child of ancient vine;  
 And here too of the tree that evermore  
 Keeps its fresh life in foliage, the pale olive,  
 Is the sweet-smelling fruit, and twined wreaths  
 Of flowers, the children of all-bearing earth.  
 But ye, my friends, o'er these libations poured  
 In honor of the dead, chant forth your hymns,  
 And call upon Dareios as a god;  
 While I will send unto the gods below  
 These votive offerings which the earth shall drink.”<sup>1</sup>

By the aid of Hesiod and Homer we can make out a list of the arts and attainments which the Greeks possessed in those early ages. They had only a wooden ploughshare with which to till the ground, and all that they sought to obtain was a plentiful harvest of barley; a few vegetables, — peas, beans, and onions; a little wheat, wine, oil, and honey; and, for fruits, figs, olives, pears, apples, and pomegranates. The sheaves were trodden out by oxen; the grain was crushed by the hand by women between two large stones; the bunches of grapes were dried in the sun or put in the wine-press; the oil was used only in cooking or to anoint the body. The usual food consisted of barley cakes, vegetables, and dried or salted fish; scarcely any wheat-bread was eaten, or any fresh meat, except at festivals and

turning towards the others. One of the women looks at them, waiting apparently until they have finished, to give the signal for her companions to begin. Thus the sad day is spent. (See the funeral of Hektor, *Iliad*, xxiv. 719 *et seq.*) Among the inscriptions on the background, some are translated as exclamations of grief, like οἶμοι. “alas!” twice repeated; others, ὈΥΥΤΟΣ, Ο. ΕΛΟΣΑ, are not satisfactorily explained.

<sup>1</sup> *The Persians*, 610–620 [Plumptre's translation].

after having been offered as sacrifices. The Greeks knew how to shear their sheep and to weave the wool; they worked in gold, silver, copper, and, more rarely, iron, of which the exploitation was difficult;<sup>1</sup> their weapons were of bronze, and the value of bronze compared with gold was as 9 to 100.<sup>2</sup> The shields of the chiefs were adorned with emblems,<sup>3</sup> and with the spear, the weapon of close fighting, the Hellenic soldiers conquered the bowmen of Asia. Coin was as yet unknown; a bull was the standard of value. A female captive skilled as a needlewoman was worth four bulls;<sup>4</sup> the young and beautiful Eurykleia cost Laertes<sup>5</sup> twenty, and Lykaon redeemed her at the price of a hundred.<sup>7</sup> They could erect large and solid buildings, but could not hew marble at all.<sup>8</sup> In their temples a shape-

ACHILLEUS KITHAREIDOS.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος (*Iliad*, vi. 48).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, vi. 236. These brazen weapons were easily forged (*Iliad*, iii. 348, 363; xi. 237. . . . μολιβδος ὤς). In the *Odyssey* (ix. 392) the tempering of steel is mentioned: . . . εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ.

<sup>3</sup> See, in *The Seven against Thebes*, the story told by the scout, and his description of the shields. Eteokles also speaks of the shield of Polyneikes, with its "gold-wrought letters." This use of ornamented shields is attested by Homer, Pindar, Aischylos, Euripides, etc.; from the Greeks it was transmitted to the Romans. (Cf. *History of Rome*, vol. viii p. 96, n. 3.)

<sup>4</sup> Engraved stone (amethyst, 17 by 14 mill.) of the *Cabinet de France* (*Catalogue*, No. 1,815), signed with the name of Pamphilos (ΠΑΜΦΙΛΑΟΥ). The hero is seated on a rock, and sings, accompanying himself on the lyre. His weapons are arranged about him, filling the vacant space, and his sword and baldric are suspended from a tree.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, xxiii. 704-705.

<sup>6</sup> *Odyssey*, i. 429-431.

<sup>7</sup> *Iliad*, xxi. 79.

<sup>8</sup> Among tools Homer mentions the brace, the plane, the adze, the axe, the auger, the level; but he does not seem to know the saw, the square, or the dividers. The Kabyles of Algeria were less advanced, at the time of the French conquest; the plane and the saw were unknown to them. Upon the shield of Achilles (*Iliad*, xviii. 490-572) Hephaistos has represented some of the industrial attainments and the habits of civic life in Homeric times. Another industry began very early, as appears from the illustrations of our early pages; namely, the ceramic art. M. Heuzey sums up its history from the *Céramique grecque* of Albert Dumont. "At first the ancient geometric ornament associates its ingenious combinations in the Oriental style characterized by representations of fantastic animals and divinities, as we see chiefly at Rhodes. Then the Asiatic decoration invades more and more; this is the character of the earliest Corinthian pottery, of the Etruscan vases decorated in relief, and also, in a different proportion, of the Cypriot ceramic.

"Finally, the progress of Greek art, which resolutely adopts the human figure as its favorite theme, introduced into the decoration of vases a new and original element, which begins by associating itself with the other two classes of ornament; for example, in the pottery of the Island

less stone or a roughly hewn trunk of a tree represents even Eros and the Graces; the pictures on the shield of Achilles are only a poet's dream. Music was beginning; the heroic time had heard, it was said, the harmonious sounds of Amphion's lyre and of that of Orpheus; Achilles on board ship amused his long hours of idleness with the sounds of the phorminx.

The centaur Cheiron had discovered or applied the medical virtues of certain plants; all the science of Podaleirios and of Machaon consisted in incisions and external medication. Asklepios himself believes less in medicine than in harmonious chants and mystic words for the relief of pain. In this way medical science drew near to religion, and the physicians were a kind of religious corporation.

Notwithstanding the Trojan War and the expedition of the Argonauts, navigation and ship-building were still in their infancy. A few constellations had been named, — Ursa Major and Minor, the Pleiades, the Hyades, Orion, the Dog-Star, and "Hesperos (Venus), the most brilliant of stars which move through the sky." But the navigator dared not

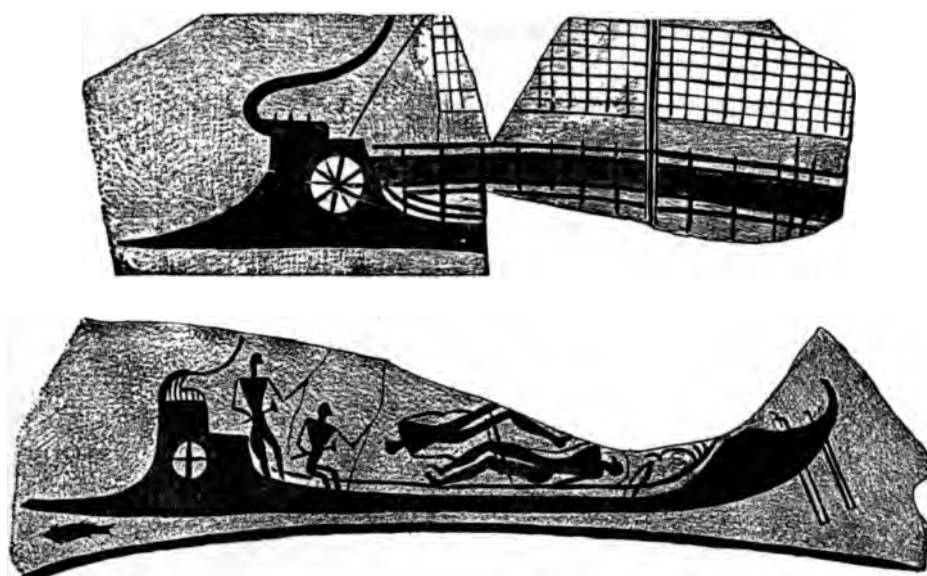


TERRA-COTTA OF TANAGRA.<sup>1</sup>

of Melos. Under the influence of the heroic poetry of the Hellenes, this fruitful principle develops rapidly. With the second epoch of Corinthian ceramics, vase-painting has become, as it were, a popular illustration of the national epic. The character, in some sort literary, of this decoration is further marked by the introduction of inscriptions which explain the legendary scenes. A new imagery is thus constructed, truly worthy of the brilliant imagination of the Greek race; it extends not only to ceramics, but to decorative art as a whole."

<sup>1</sup> Young woman in out-door dress, wrapped in her kalyptra (or long veil), and holding in her right hand a fan shaped like a palm-leaf. Terra-cotta in the Louvre. (Cf. Heuzey, *Les figurines de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, pl. xxx. and p. 19.)

go far from land, and every evening drew his vessel up on the shore. The earth was always an immense body which Zeus held, suspended by a chain above the abyss, and the ocean was its girdle. Great columns resting on the earth and held up by Atlas, supported the sky. At the same time geographical information was extended by every poem which sung the vagabond wandering of some hero, an Iason, an Achilleus, or a Menelaos. The rhapsodist, living echo

VESSELS ON ARCHAIC VASES.<sup>1</sup>

of the popular Muse, gathered all floating rumors, added to them his own fictions, and by his songs, wherein all things mingled,—morality, art, and religion,—he was at once the product and the painter of this society, which was rude but not coarse, abounding in violent deeds but also full of poetry, for the reason that, still close to Nature, it found in Nature the inspiration of youth. Among the Greeks Humanity never loses all her rights; here and

<sup>1</sup> Fragments of archaic painted vases found at Athens near the Dipylon; from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. ix., pl. xl., 3, 4. (Cf. *Annali*, etc., 1872, pp. 178–181. and Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, p. 56.) The two vessels are armed with a ram (ζυβόλον): at the prow is pierced an "eye" (ὀφθαλμός), through which went the rope of the anchor. On the second vase is represented a naval combat, and two men, stretched out at the foot of the mast, are wounded or dead. Two sailors in front are occupied with the sail. At the stern are two large oars which serve for a rudder. On the first fragment is the mast, the sail, and the ropes by which it is handled. Neither of the vessels is decked (δοτρωτός); on the second a bulwark protects the rowers: it is κατάφρακτος.

there we find her good side. How noble the sentiments expressed by Eumaios! how charming a figure is Nausikaa!

Homer and Hesiod, or the works collected under these two names, embody the poetry of the early singers, but reflect two phases of this society, and, so to speak, two different ages in the life of the Greek peoples; accordingly, each of them seems to be entirely ignorant of the other. So evident was this difference that it appeared even in the recitation of their works; the dialect they employ is the same, but the verses of the one were read gravely, those of the other gayly chanted to the lute. Hesiod, the poet beloved of laborer and artisan, the poet of the Helots, — as Kleomenes called him scornfully, expelling him from Sparta, where only Homer, who sang of heroes and of war, was allowed to enter, — begins his poem, *Works and Days*, by a eulogium on labor, whence all virtues, he says, are derived. How distant is this practical morality from the Hindoo Brahminism, which makes the dignity and power of man consist, not in labor, but in idle and barren meditation upon the perfections of God! The East, while giving certain of its divinities to the Hellenes, never was able to introduce its mysticism into Greece, where a new civilization was about to begin, with a people enamoured of labor and of human effort.

<sup>1</sup> Homer, seated, holding the *Iliad*: legend OMHPOC. (Reverse of an autonomous bronze coin of Kyme in Aiolis.)



HOMER.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

### RELIGION OF THE HEROIC AGE.

#### I.—THE GODS.<sup>1</sup>

**T**HERE are two kinds of religions,—those of a revealed book, and those of Nature. The Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans have the former; the Oriental world and Greece have the latter. The former have for fundamental idea a solitary and jealous God, who tolerates nothing outside of his own sanctuary. The second spring from Nature, whence comes the great current of all life, and their temples stand open to any idea invested with divine forms. In the cults which originated at Sinai, at Jerusalem, and at Mecca, religious development takes place by the commentary of the prophetic teacher on a sacred text; among the Greeks the revelators are the poets. The bare and barren rocks which are to-day only the skeleton of Hellas were in ancient times covered

<sup>1</sup> The ancient Italian divinities differed much from the Greek gods in character and functions. But when the influence of Hellenic civilization had gained Italy, the Romans united these two divine populations, and gave them the names of their own divinities. The following is the parallelism for the principal deities of the Græco-Latin world:—

| GREEK     | ROMAN          | GREEK              | ROMAN      |
|-----------|----------------|--------------------|------------|
| Kronos    | Saturn         | Hephaistos         | Vulcan     |
| Rheia     | Ops, or Cybele | Hestia             | Vesta      |
| Zeus      | Jupiter        | Poseidon           | Neptune    |
| Here      | Juno           | Hades              | Pluto      |
| Athene    | Minerva        | Demeter            | Ceres      |
| Apollo    | Apollo         | Kora or Persephone | Proserpine |
| Artemis   | Diana          | Dionysos           | Bacchus    |
| Helios    | Sol            | Asclepios          | Æsculapius |
| Hermes    | Mercury        | Herakles           | Hercules   |
| Ares      | Mars           | Leto               | Latona     |
| Aphrodite | Venus          | Eos                | Aurora     |
| Eros      | Cupid          | Ge                 | Terra      |

with a luxuriant vegetation. Wild animals roamed through the woods; rivers and streamlets ran down from the hills with murmuring sounds that seemed like voices: life was everywhere, and the majesty of Nature was supreme. The early Greeks, not yet able to derive laws from her phenomena, derived gods therefrom, which their young and sportive imagination discovered behind visible phenomena. They multiplied these divinities infinitely, and modified their history, covering with ornaments more and



COMBAT OF HERAKLES WITH THE RIVER ACHELOÖS.<sup>1</sup>

more splendid these creations of their own fancy, derived from the sight of ever-changing Nature, or from traditions of other lands.

Poetry, which an old French writer has called *la grande image* (the great image-maker), reflects every impression in a visible form; and at a certain age of civilization this form is human. The gods of the Greeks are the forces of Nature or the manifestations of physical and moral activity; also, however, they are men, good or bad, like ourselves; and it is because they represent humanity that they have endured so long.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a vase in the De Witte collection. (Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, vol. i. (1875) p. 84.) The River Acheiloös is represented under the form of a bull with human face. (On the forms of rivers, see A. de Longpérier *Œuvres*, ed. Schlumberger, iii. 118.) Herakles, armed with his club, has already torn off one of his enemy's horns. The legend relates that Herakles restored it to him in exchange for a horn of the goat Amaltheia, which became the cornucopia. Behind Herakles is Oineus, for whose daughter Deianeira the two combatants dispute.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Polit.*, i. 1, *ad fin.*, says: "Man has made the gods in his own image, and has also ascribed to them his own moral ideas."



Herodotos regards the poems of Homer and Hesiod as the source of all the religious beliefs of the Greeks. He says:—

“ Whence each of the gods sprung, whether they existed always, and of what form they were, was, so to speak, unknown till yesterday. For I am of opinion that Homer and Hesiod lived four hundred years before my time, and not more; and these were they who framed a theogony for the Greeks, and gave names to the gods, and assigned to them honors and arts, and declared their several forms.”<sup>1</sup>



DISPUTE OF HERAKLES AND APOLLO.<sup>2</sup>

We are somewhat better informed than the writer of Halikarnassos; but it must be acknowledged that of the Greek religion we know in fact only its latest form,—that which it took when time and reflection had brought order into the chaos of ancient creations; when the spontaneous conceptions of the early ages had been overlaid

and replaced by the poetic combinations and artificial arrangement of later times; when, in fine, the *Iliad* had become the Hellenic Bible. While it is difficult to decompose by analysis this synthesis of centuries, and, obtaining its primitive elements, determine their character and origin, it is not so to perceive that the Olympians are gods of a secondary formation, that Homer has lost the sense of the antique naturalism, and that his divine personages have their being amid fictions ingenious and brilliant,

<sup>1</sup> ii. 53. Herodotos was born about the year 484 B. C. The Alexandrians, however, place an interval of at least a century between Homer and Hesiod, bringing the latter to the era of the Olympiads, although his *Theogony* treats of beliefs more ancient than those of Homer. Their genius is also very different; Quintilian is no more than just when he says of the poet of Askra: “He rarely rises above the commonplace, but he says many useful things and in a pleasing style. He deserves the palm for moderation.” But it is not easy to believe that all the works are his which bear his name.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief upon a bronze tablet of Dodona, from Carapanos, *Dodone*, pl. xvi. 1. The dispute of Herakles and Apollo for the possession of the Delphian tripod is one of the subjects most frequently treated by ancient artists.

sometimes even irreverent, which would have wounded the simple and sturdy faith of the men of the ancient time.

The queen of heaven, Here, "the golden-slippered," is sometimes in a very bad humor, and the punishment that Zeus inflicts upon her — hanging her in the midst of heaven, with two anvils bound to her feet and a golden chain around her hands<sup>1</sup> — is like what an angry sultan might inflict on one of the women of his harem. She, in turn, is very harsh to Athene, beating her

HERODOTOS.<sup>2</sup>

about the ears with her own bow, until the chastised goddess makes her escape, weeping, "like a dove which flies from a hawk to a hollow rock, her hiding-place."<sup>3</sup> To recompense Autolykos for his many sacrifices, Hermes teaches him to deceive.<sup>4</sup> Hephaistos has domestic infelicities; Aphrodite is too complaisant; Ares has transports of brutal rage; and all the gods of the poet undergo curious misfortunes. Hephaistos is the comic personage of Olympus, where he plays his part all the better for being so serious about it, and having no suspicion that he is introduced by Homer to amuse the gods, — whether he calls them to be witnesses of his conjugal misfortunes, showing them Ares and Aphrodite snared in his nets; or excites "inextinguishable laughter" when, an improvised cup-bearer, limping, he brings them nectar; or when he relates to them his unlucky intervention in a domestic quarrel between Here and Zeus, upon which the latter, taking him by the feet, hurls him from "the sacred threshold" into space, and he is all day long falling through the air, until, at sunset, he drops half dead among the Sintians of Lemnos, who receive and tend him. Aristophanes.

HERE.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Reverse of a coin of the Emperor Hadrian, struck at Halikarnassos; legend, ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΥ ΔΑΙΚΑΡΝΑΚΕΩΝ. (Bronze.)

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, xxi. 489 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey*, xix. 395–397.

<sup>5</sup> Archaic marble statue discovered in the Island of Samos, near the temple of Here: now in the Louvre. (Cf. in the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. iv. (1880), the article by P. Girard.

later, imitates the liberties which the old poets took with the gods, and at which the devout were greatly scandalized. In the infernal regions Pythagoras, according to tradition, saw the shade of Hesiod fastened to a brazen column, and that of Homer hung to a tree in the midst of serpents, to expiate the insults offered by them to the gods; upon earth Herakleitos and Plato humiliate him who sang of Achilles,—the one excludes him from the competitors, and would have him smitten on the cheek because of his impiety; the other pours perfumes upon his head and crowns him with fillets, but will not let him enter his Republic.<sup>1</sup> Xenophanes, even more severe, feels towards him a genuine *odium theologicum*.<sup>2</sup> Homer does not, then, represent the period of simple-minded faith; with him begins, if not the revolt of the intellect, at least that careless irreverence which later will lead to negation. Already his heroes are not afraid to fight against the immortals. Aias exclaims: "With the aid of the gods a coward might conquer; I need them not;" and he refuses the assistance of Athene. A herald in the drama of the *Suppliants* replies to the Argives who threaten him with the displeasure of their divine protectors: "Nay, I fear not the gods they worship here; they did not rear nor lead me up to age."

Although in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the celestial powers concern themselves constantly in the affairs of the heroes, these two poems are, above all, a laudation of the strength, the courage, or the mental activity of men. While they represent the gods as loving or hating individuals, protecting some, seeking to injure others, it is on account of actions which, among men, would have a distinct character of right or wrong. No one of the heathen divinities plays the part of Satan or of Ahriman. Aischylos

pp. 488–493.) 'The goddess is named in the inscription on the part of the mantle which is attached to the belt: *Χηραμύης μ' ἀνέθηκεν τήρη ἄγαλμα*. "Cheramues has consecrated me, a statue of Here." The characters of the inscription indicate the end of the sixth or first years of the fifth century B. C. The goddess wears a tunic of very light material, a sort of shawl crossed upon her breast, and a heavy mantle attached in front to the belt, and covering all the back of the figure. With the right hand she grasps her mantle; in the left she doubtless held a pomegranate. I shall give many archaic statues, notwithstanding their ugliness, that the reader may measure the distance traversed by Greek art.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laer., viii. 1, 21, in the life of Pythagoras, and Plato, *Rep.*, book iii.

<sup>2</sup> "Homer attributes to the gods," says Xenophanes, "all that is most disgraceful in man. — theft, adultery, falsehood" (Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Mathem.*, ix. 19).

depicts in frightful colors the Erinyes, "wrathful powers;"<sup>1</sup> but between these avengers, who pursue only the guilty, and Satan, who labors to ruin humanity, the difference is wide. He is the genius of evil; they are divine justice.<sup>2</sup> The heaven of Greece is not, then, made gloomy by the monstrous apparitions which have



AGAMEMNON, EPEIOS, AND TALTHYBIOS.<sup>3</sup>

filled other skies,<sup>4</sup> and cast so many religious terrors upon the earth; the last words of the dying Greek express regret at quitting "the sweet light of day." Homer is happy in the midst of combats; the Greek in the midst of life.

This delight in living, which belongs also to the modern Greek, is not, however, a legacy from the earliest of his ancestors. In

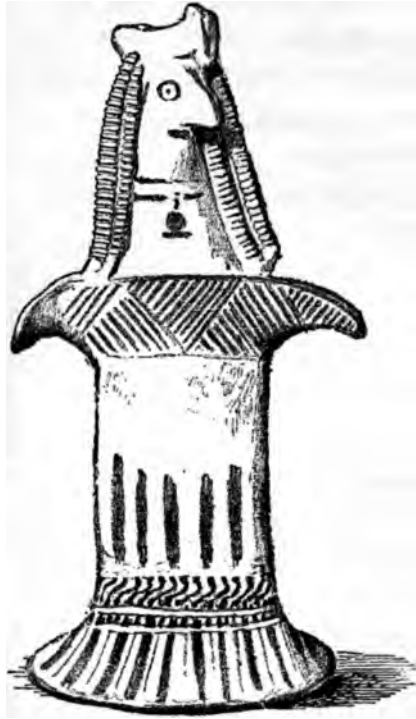
<sup>1</sup> *The Libation Pourers*, 276.

<sup>2</sup> See later, in Chapter XX. of this work, the grand explanation they give of their authority and the part they play in human affairs.

<sup>3</sup> Bas-relief of marble discovered in the Island of Samothrace; in the Museum of the Louvre. Agamemnon (ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ) is seated at the left on his royal seat; standing behind him are the herald Talthybios (ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ), caduceus in hand, and Epeios (ΕΠΕΙΟΣ). This bas-relief dates from the latter half of the sixth century B. C.

<sup>4</sup> Polygnotos is the first, in one of his paintings, to depict an evil demon (Girard, *op. laud.*, p. 356).

their time the struggle for existence was too severe, and their religion could not be cheerful, as it became later, on the lovely



ARCHAIC FIGURINE.<sup>1</sup>

shores of Ionia. The faith of the original inhabitants of the country was only a coarse naturalism; and when the gods, detaching themselves from the elements with which at first they were identified, became living and sentient beings, the traces of their earlier character remained recognizable even amid the rich development of the Hellenic mythology. Among the rites and the legends of gods and heroes we observe the more ancient worship of the forests, the adoration of mountains, of rocks, of winds and rivers. Agamemnon in the *Iliad* still invokes the rivers as great divinities, and Achilles consecrates his hair to the Simoïs. So long as Hellenism endured, the oak continued to be sacred to Zeus,

the laurel to Apollo, the olive-tree to Athene, the myrtle to Aphrodite. Serpents, after having been hostile to the human race in the early days when Apollo, Herakles, Kadmos, Iason, and other heroes made war upon them, become beneficent daimons at Delphi, Epidauros, and Athens. Lastly, certain stones became divine images. Thus Herakles was represented at Hyettos in Boiotia by a shapeless rock; Zeus at Tegeia by a triangular stone;<sup>2</sup> and there were many others. From these beginnings went forth Greek art, destined to rise to the Parthenon; and here also is the fetichism out of which were developed the ethics of Sokrates and the spirituality of Plato.

<sup>1</sup> Terra-cotta from Tanagra, in the Louvre. It belongs to the series of figurines in which the body is composed of a cylinder spread out at the base. Flattened at the height of the shoulders, it forms on each side an appendix resembling a crescent, which becomes the arm. The head, similarly fashioned, without mouth or chin, resembles the beak of a bird. See J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines en terre cuite du musée de la Société archéologique d'Athènes*, p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, ix. 24; viii. 48.

In the time of Tacitus,<sup>1</sup> at Paphos, Venus was worshipped under the form of a stone;<sup>2</sup> but this was not the Greek Aphrodite, and this stone was a symbol widely diffused through western Asia. This naturalism was more lasting than paganism; even in modern Greece there are a multitude of people who believe in a spirit of the waters.<sup>3</sup>

But the Pelasgians in their long wanderings had not lost upon the road all the religious conceptions which they with the other Aryans had held in remote Asia. Now that we know the Vedas, we can follow the vagrant destiny of certain divinities, as by the aid of Sanskrit we have discovered the affiliation of languages.<sup>4</sup> Thus influenced by tradition, the worship of Nature was blended with a personification of physical forces, which was readily made, and with cosmic ideas suggested by viewing the world as a whole.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>5</sup>

Accordingly the Pelasgians appear to have worshipped, as did the Arkadians of an earlier period, a Supreme Being, without temple and without image; "but they gave no name to any god," says Herodotus.<sup>6</sup> The snowy mountain-peaks served as altars to him who, being the pure light of heaven, later became Zeus, "the Shining One."<sup>7</sup> When they wished to bring him near, they called him the

<sup>1</sup> *History*, ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In the *History of Rome*, iii. 220, see a coin of Cyprus; and vol. vii. p. 213, two conical stones representing the Phœnician Herakles.

<sup>3</sup> Fauriel, *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne*.

<sup>4</sup> This is what has been done by A. Maury in his *Histoire des religions de la Grèce antique*, 3 vols. 8vo (1857-1859). The chief aim of this learned book is to identify the divinities of early Greece with those of the *Vedas*. This discovery was the triumph of comparative philology; at the present day the students of folklore propose at least to share with the philologists in the great study of the history of religions. In the introduction to his *Mythologie grecque*, Decharme gives a history of the different systems of interpretation maintained by the mythographers. See also, J. Girard, *Le Sentiment religieux en Grèce, d'Homère à Eschyle*, and E. Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, vol. i., chap. i.: *d'Homère au sixième siècle*.

<sup>5</sup> Zeus Kretagenes hurling the thunderbolt. The Kretan Zeus, standing, holding the thunderbolt in his lifted right hand, his left arm wrapped in his peplos; around him the seven stars of the Great Bear; legend, TAN KPHTAENHC. (Reverse of a bronze coin of the Emperor Domitian, struck in Krete.) The word TAN in the Kretan form of the Phœnician name ZAN, for ZEYΣ. See *Nouvelle galerie mythologique*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> ii. 52.

<sup>7</sup> Zeus is the same word as θεός, Latin, *deus*, French, *dieu*, whose Sanskrit radical signifies "to shine." Ζεύς πατήρ. *Dies-piter*, is exactly the Sanskrit word *Dyâushpitar*, Jupiter. Maury

"Father of all living creatures," — *Zeus Pater*; whence the Roman name of *Jupiter*. His worship was dominant in three of the places which history shows us as the earliest inhabited in Greece,—at

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

Dodona in Epeiros, where the oak bearing edible acorns, and the beech, were consecrated to him; upon the Lykeios, the highest mountain in Arkadia; and on Mount Dikte, in Krete. The Kretans went even so

far as to relate the story of his birth and to show his tomb.

This silent adoration of the "Shining God," of the "Father-God," author of all life, reveals a monotheistic conception which did not last, but was later re-discovered by philosophy. To the worship of heaven was joined the worship of earth.

"The pure, bright heaven still yearns to blend with earth,  
And earth is filled with love for marriage-rites;  
And from the kindly sky the rain-shower falls  
And fertilizes earth, and earth for men  
Yields grass for sheep, and corn."<sup>2</sup>

The same thought is found in the invocation addressed to Zeus by the Peliades of Dodona, "The earth produces fruits: honor her with the name of Mother." She was called the Earth-mother, γῆ (or γᾶ) μήτηρ, in Dorian Δα-μάτηρ, — whence the name Demeter, a wife of Zeus, whom the Sicilian Greeks and Italiots called Ceres. At Mantinea was kept alive upon her altar a perpetual fire, like that of Vesta in Rome. The hymns sung in her temples allured her thither from Krete, — indeed from a much greater distance; for she is the wandering goddess, under whose feet

HELIOS.<sup>3</sup>

identifies him with the Indra of the *Rig-Veda*. The goddess Here, Ἥρα, or Ἥρη (probably identical with *hera*, mistress), is the feminine form of Zeus, rather than Dione, who was worshipped as his wife at Dodona. Even in later ages Zeus remained especially the god of the high places; his altars crowned the mountain-summits in Megaris, Attika, and Arkadia. and his throne was on Olympos.

<sup>1</sup> Demeter seated, facing left, in a chariot drawn by two winged dragons. Reverse. ΕΛΕΥΣΑ. A hog, standing. (Bronze coin of Eleusis.)

<sup>2</sup> Aischylos, *Frag.*, 38 [Plumptre's translation, p. 339].

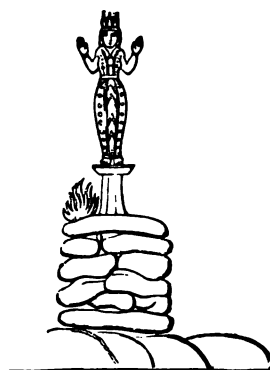
<sup>3</sup> The Sun enlightening the world. The sun is represented as a youth, his head surrounded by rays, kneeling on one knee, and holding with his two hands the bridle of his two horses, which are springing forward; underneath, a tunny-fish, emblem of the city of Kyzikos. (Obverse of a stater of electrum of Kyzikos; the reverse is an incused square.)

the harvests spring up.<sup>1</sup> At Eleusis the establishment of the Mysteries was attributed to the Thracians. Zeus, Apollo, Dionysos,

SACRIFICE BEFORE AN ALTAR.<sup>2</sup>

Athene, Poseidon, and perhaps also Artemis, entered Greece from both sides,—by way of the north and the south, by sea and by land. The gods naturally followed this two-fold path of the nations, and the divine guests that the Greeks carried with them over the Ægæan Sea and along the Thracian coast marked the road with the altars that were erected to them and with the traditions they left behind them.

Contrasted with the god of the sky, Helios, “who shines unto mortals and to the immortal gods,”<sup>3</sup> there are gods of the earth: Kronos, or Saturn, “the great sower,” whose worship disappeared very early, except in Elis, leaving the field

VASE-PAINTING.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was, for example, great similarity between the worship of Demeter and of the Egyptian Isis, wife to the Egyptian Zeus, Osiris, and, like Demeter, the fruitful earth. Herodotus relates, on the authority of the priests of Heliopolis, that the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians the names of the twelve Great Gods, and Apuleius repeats it: “Egypt is the temple of the world” (*Asklepios*, 24). Modern research has shown this theory to be untenable.

<sup>2</sup> Vase-painting from the Campana Collection, in the Louvre. The flame burning on the altar is shielded by a kind of roof; at the left is the victim about to be sacrificed, led to the altar to the sound of the double flute.

<sup>3</sup> *Homeric Hymns*, xxix. Neither in Homer himself nor in Hesiod is there mention of the chariot of the Sun, of his horses fed on the grass which grows in the Fortunate Isles, nor of the ship of gold which every night brings him back under the earth from the West to the East.

<sup>4</sup> Vase-painting from A. de La Borde, *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg*, vol. i. pl. xxiii. An inscription engraved above the figure gives us the name of the divinity thus represented: Chryseis.



to Demeter, whose importance and honors increased; and Hades, or Pluto, at first only the king of the underground world,<sup>1</sup>



HEPHAISTOS.<sup>2</sup>

then the king of the dead, who are buried underground, and lastly the king of the wealth dug out of the earth. It is easy to see how, from this first conception of Hades, followed the idea of his marriage with Persephone, herself the personification of the vegetative power.

Anthropomorphism was slowly evolved from the ancient naturalism; marriages and births among the gods came later. Thus Here appears first, not as the wife of the father of the gods, but as Parthenia, the



THE FORGES OF HEPHAISTOS.<sup>3</sup>

maiden (*Παρθένια*) who reigned at Argos.<sup>4</sup> The Artemis of Ephesos with the fifty breasts, symbol of fecundity, never entered

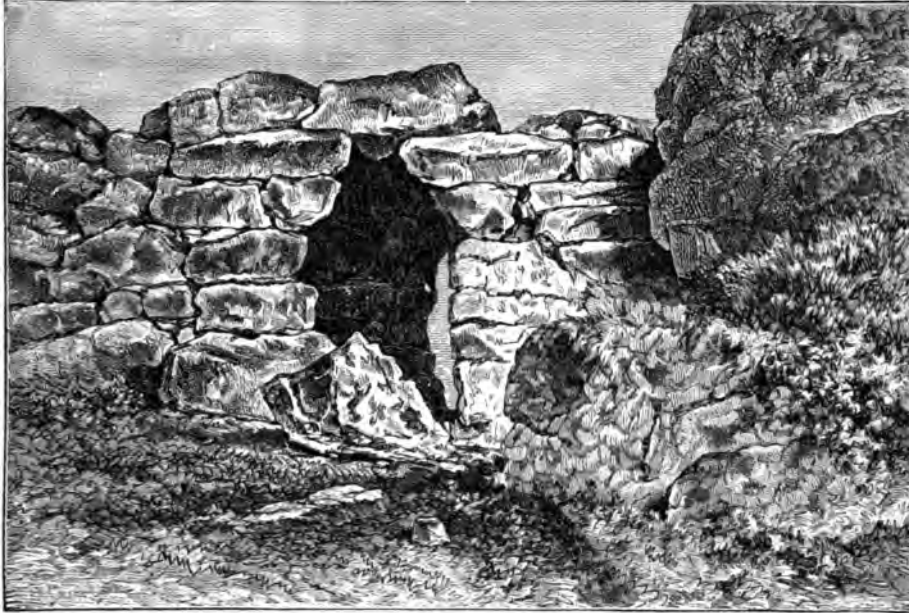
<sup>1</sup> The Aditís of the *Vedas*, whose Indian name is found in the *Jupiter infernalis* of the Latins (*Dis*, *Ditis*).

<sup>2</sup> Head of Hephaistos, wearing the conical pilos, on a large bronze coin of the Island of Lipari.

<sup>3</sup> Marble bas-relief in the Louvre (cf. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, vol. ii. part 1, p. 356). Hephaistos, seated at the right, is engaged in fastening the handle of a heavy shield which one of his assistants holds out towards him. The assistant, by a caprice of the artist, is represented as a faun. Behind the god, the finished cuirass and sword are on a pediment. There are two other workmen: he at the right is working on a greave; the other, at the left, near the door, is hammering a helmet. A young satyr, hidden behind the door, is trying to snatch off the pilos of the old smith.

<sup>4</sup> The goddess Here is a personage of importance only in Homer. Hesiod invokes her

European Greece, any more than did the savage Artemis of the Tauros. But Arkadia gave this name to an old Pelasgic goddess who humanized with music and singing the rude shepherds of the mountains, but was never Diana the huntress, sister of Apollo, and beautiful as the god.



WALL AND PELASGIC GATE AT SAMOTHRACE.<sup>1</sup>

To the beliefs of the primitive times was joined the worship of fire, — Hestia, that which burned on the domestic hearth, on the altar of the gods and the public hearth of the State,<sup>2</sup> and Hephaistos, that which emerged mysteriously from the depths in volcanic regions. Hephaistos, the Agni (*ignis*) of the *Vedas*, was the great artisan of the universe, — an Aryan idea, which did not

only as the Poliac deity of Argos; Pindar, Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides, Aristophanes, hardly mention her. In the time of Strabo her temples were falling into ruins. It was only at Rome that Ihere recovered her position as wife to the father of the gods, where she received great honors, and, under the name of Juno, became the ideal type of the virtuous and venerated matron.

<sup>1</sup> From A. Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, pl. xiv. and p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> After the victory at Plateia, fire was taken from the national sanctuary at Delphi to use in the sacrifice. At Athens the public hearth was in the Prytaneion, in the centre of a circular hall. At Rome the temple of Vesta was also circular in shape, — perhaps to suggest the central fire of the earth, the existence of which was proved by volcanoes.

develop itself at all in Greece, but recurs in the mysteries of Samothrace. His worship was localized at Lemnos, where, from the earliest ages, weapons were forged.



THE PHOENICIAN ASTARTE.<sup>3</sup>

Pan and Hermes,<sup>1</sup> gods of the shepherds of Arkadia, were only special and local personifications of the generative principle. The usual method in the later legend was to take one of the ideas contained in the general conception of a divinity and personify it as a separate existence, in which the primitive element was blended almost to the point of disappearance with many new elements of various kinds. The Greek mind was a mirror of a thousand facets, each one of which gave back its own reflection of the countless aspects of Nature.

The Sidonian Phoenicians spread abroad the cult of their protecting goddess, Astarte, or Aphrodite; her image was on the prows of their vessels, to protect them against the waves,—poetically expressed by the Greeks when they said that Aphrodite was born of the white foam of the salt sea. From Ascalon she passed over into Cyprus, and thence to Kythera, “the empurpled island”<sup>2</sup> where the Phoenicians built her a temple. But her worship spread slowly; as late as the Homeric period it was still very limited. Later, the Syrian divinity, who had now become the goddess of love, was the most charming creation of the religious spirit of the Greeks; she had every-

<sup>1</sup> Hermes was also a Thracian divinity. “The Thracians worship only Ares, Dionysos, and Artemis; but their kings reverence Hermes most of all the gods, they swear by him only, and say that they are themselves sprung from Hermes” (Herodotos, v. 7). The Tauric Artemis had a temple at Brauron in Attika (Herod., vi. 138), but this was not so much an importation of the Scythian goddess as a tradition from the legend of Iphigeneia and Orestes (Pausanias, i. 33; iii. 16, 7).

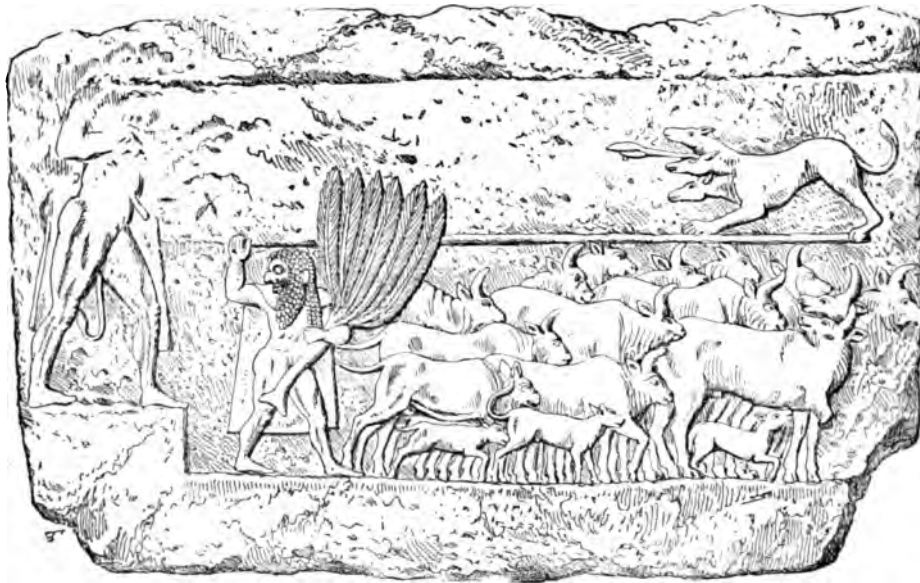
<sup>2</sup> The *Murex brandaris*, whence was obtained “the island purple,” was so abundant here that at one time the island bore the name of *Porphyroessa* (Maspero, *Hist. Anc. de l'Orient*).

<sup>3</sup> Terra-cotta in the Louvre. (Cf. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 200, and fig. 142.) The goddess presses a dove against her breast.

where altars, statues which represented the absolute perfection of female beauty, and too numerous worshippers.

In their turn the Tyrians, who succeeded to the maritime powers of the Sidonians, propagated the worship of their god Melkart, who became transformed into Herakles.

Poseidon,<sup>1</sup> the god of the sea, who desired human sacrifices and the offering of horses, must have been one of the most



HERAKLES AND THE CATTLE OF GERYONES.<sup>2</sup>

ancient divinities of the country, brought doubtless by the Greeks from Asia and the islands with Rheia, the Phrygian Cybele, and Athene. Of these two goddesses, the former had but little importance in Greece, and the latter's emblem was the olive-tree, indigenous on the Asiatic coasts. Delphi, Olympia, and Athens seem to have honored Poseidon at an early period with special worship, and the Ionians regarded him as their national divinity, in Asia holding their public assemblies in his temple. On the

<sup>1</sup> The old form of the name in the Dorian dialect was Ποσειδάων.

<sup>2</sup> Cypriot bas-relief of Athienau, from Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre*. pl. v. (Cf. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vol. iii. p. 573, and fig. 387.) The god on the left occupies almost the height of the bas-relief, which is divided into two registers. In the upper, the dog Orthros, three-headed and armed with a spear, threatens Herakles; in the lower, the cattle of Geryones are escaping, driven by the herdsman Eurytion, who holds in his left arm a tree, and with his right makes a gesture of alarm.

other hand, he was not much honored by the Dorians, except at Corinth. Later legends naturally represent him as the husband of Demeter, — the element of moisture making the earth fertile.

POSEIDON.<sup>1</sup>

Athene was not, in the earliest period, the symbol of the moral qualities which she represented later, but a personification of the waters, which connects her with Poseidon, — not however in marriage, for she remained a virgin goddess. Later, she was the warlike divinity shown us by Homer, sheltering the heroes with her ægis on the field of battle. But it was inevitable that the goddess of incorruptible water and impalpable air should become also the goddess of chastity and of moral purity when the Greek polytheism, escaping from naturalism by the progress of ideas, spiritualized itself by substituting for

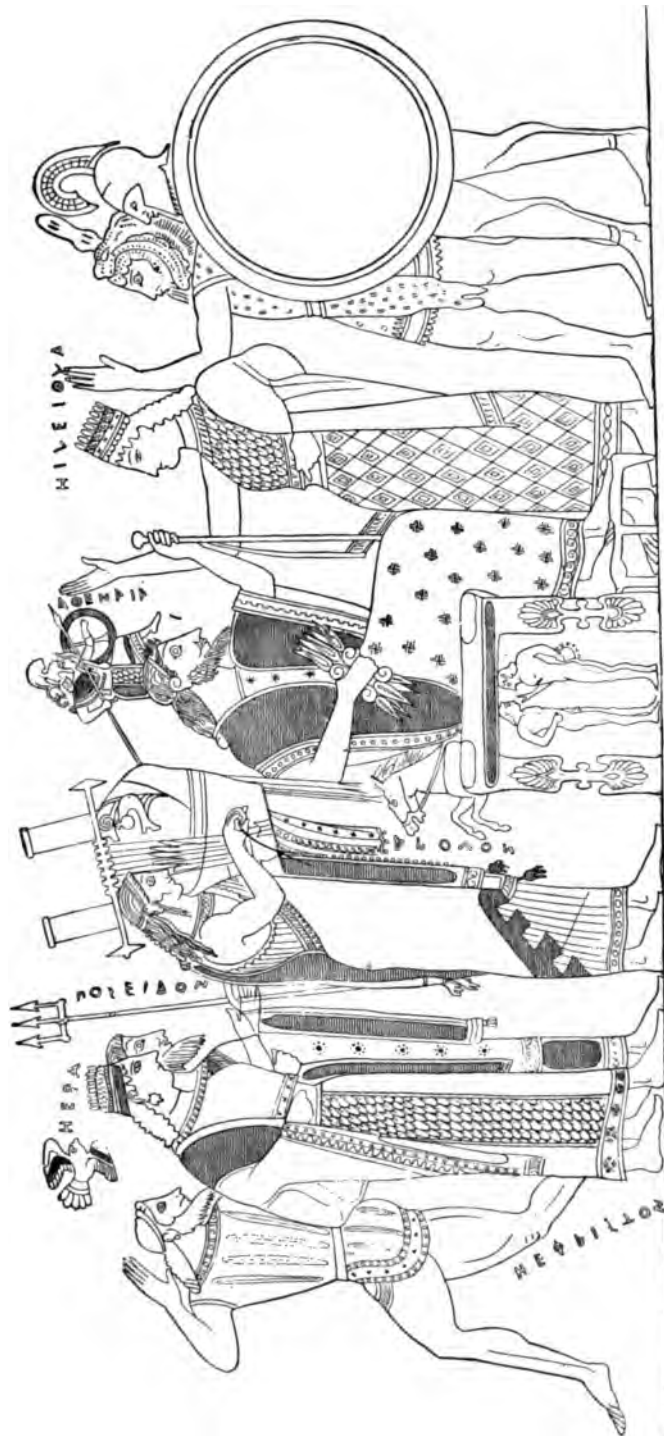
BIRTH OF VENUS.<sup>2</sup>

the personification of the blind forces of matter that of the moral qualities which men attributed to their gods in proportion as

<sup>1</sup> Statuette of bronze in the *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 3,027.

<sup>2</sup> The goddess, naked, her head and arms thrown back, her hair disordered and dripping, holding an ample peplos, with which she seems to wish to cover herself, is drawn from the water by Eros, who stands on a rock. In retrograde letters is the word, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤ. (Plaque of silver-gilt, of the original size, found at Galaxidi in Lokris. Museum of the Louvre. — See J. de Witte, in the *Gaz. archéol.*, 1879, p. 171, and pl. xix., No. 2.)

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a vase-painting from the *Mon. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. iii., pl. xlv. Zeus (Ι[εὺς]), thunderbolt and sceptre in hand, is the central figure, seated on a throne ornamented with reliefs (two athletes, of whom one holds a crown; fore part of a horse, which forms the back of the seat). Hephaistos has cleft the skull of the god, and Pallas Athene (ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ) is springing, full armed, into the light of day. On each side of Zeus are symmetrically grouped the divinities who are usually associated with Pallas: before her is Ilithyia (ΗΛΙΘΥΙΑ), who presides over births; behind, Apollo (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ), playing on the seven-stringed lyre. Behind him is a group of two figures, — Poseidon (ΠΟσειδών) and Here (ΗΕΡΑ); to which corresponds that of Herakles and Ares. (These two figures, like that of Ilithyia are almost completely modern; what remains of them fully justifies the restoration.) Lastly, Hephaistos (ΗΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ) at the left, flees in alarm; doubtless a figure of



BIRTH OF ATHENE.



they discovered them in themselves. Then Pallas Athene, emerging from the head of Zeus,—his divine thought,—became the industrious goddess and the intelligent force which nothing could resist.<sup>1</sup>

Dionysos, the god of the vine, who appeared first in the Island of Naxos, and whom the Thracians had adored from the earliest ages: Artemis, worshipped with sanguinary rites, herself fierce and savage as the Amazons, having a famous temple at Ephesos, and in the Tauris dreaded altars; and Ares, the god of warfare,—possibly also the principal divinity of Thrace,—are all evidently of foreign origin.<sup>3</sup>

ATHENE.<sup>2</sup>

But the most important of these religious innovations was the tardy introduction into Greece of the worship of Apollo,<sup>4</sup>—the god eternally young and beautiful, personification of the radiant light which he creates (*λυκηγενής*). He is friendly to Poseidon, for both work together to build the walls of Troy; both also are the great divinities of the cities on the coast of Asia Minor, and it is an islander, the Kretan Minos, who carries everywhere with him the new divinity. In Greece the cult of Apollo had not become popular in the time of the Trojan war, although in the *Iliad* Agamemnon goes to consult the Delphic oracle; but already two cradles are assigned him,—the vale of Tempe, where he begins in low condition, for Apollo, says the Thessalian legend,

Hermes, the messenger of the gods, corresponded to it on the right. (Cf. Gerhard, *Auserlex. Vasenb.*, vol. i. pl. i. ii. iii. iv.) Behind Here a bird of good augury is in the air.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek name of the goddess varies much in different authors; that of Athene is preferred, as indicating the city of which she was the Poliac divinity.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Athene, right profile, her helmet adorned with olive-leaves. (Archaic tetradrachm of Athens.) The reverse bears the legend ΑΘΕ, with the owl, symbol of Athene, standing upon an amphora.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotos says (ii. 52) that Dionysos was long unknown to the whole of Greece, and Apollo to Arkadia. In the Homeric times the worship of Dionysos was extremely limited, and Zeus in Homer (*Iliad*, v. 890) calls Ares *ἔχθιστος θεῶν*. This impetuous divinity is the least Greek of all the denizens of Olympus. In respect to Dionysos, see Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s. v. In his *Essai sur les dieux protecteurs des héros grecs et troyens dans l'Iliade*, A. Bertrand places in the Greek camp Here, Pallas Athene (although she had a temple in Ilion, where she was highly honored), Poseidon, Hermes, and Hephaistos; in the opposite camp, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Ares, Xanthos, and Leto. This is very nearly a division into old and new gods. Above them towers, in the poem, as in the popular belief, the majestic figure of Zeus, the supreme divinity.

<sup>4</sup> Tardy, no doubt, but still of great antiquity, since the *Iliad* speaks of the rocky Pytho; it is true these words have been regarded as an interpolation.



at first served as a shepherd with Admetos; and the Island of Ortygia, the rocky Delos, in the centre of the group of the Cyclades, which make for it a brilliant crown.<sup>1</sup>



APOLLO PTOÖS.<sup>4</sup>

The poet relates that "the swans, tuneful minstrels of the god, having left Maioneian Paktolos, circled seven times around Delos," celebrating the birth of Apollo.<sup>2</sup> The first altars to Apollo in Hellas were erected therefore upon Olympos and upon the rock of Delos.<sup>3</sup> A third, eclipsing the fame of the other two, was that which the Kretans were believed to have built at Krissa, on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf; this was transferred later to Parnassos and placed in a site more favorable to the security of its priests and the faith of pilgrims. When the Dorians of Olympos established themselves in the neighborhood of Phokis, they united in a common veneration the two sanctuaries of Delphi and Tempe, and each year a religious procession went from one to the other.

Apollo thus became the great divinity of the two halves of the Hellenic world, — of the Ionians at Delos, and of the Dorians at Delphi; and he became especially the civilizer of Greece, the destroyer of monsters (the Python), — the god who, more than any other, required moral and

<sup>1</sup> Delos is less an island than a great rock; in an hour one can walk across it in its greatest length.

<sup>2</sup> Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos*, ad fin. The author of the *Hymn to Apollo*, which Thucydides attributes to Homer, but which modern criticism denies to the ancient poet, relates the journeys of the god "when he descended from Olympos, seeking a place where he might give forth his oracles;" then his strange meeting with a Kretan vessel, which he guides into the port of Krissa to make the sailors priests in his temple. This old poetry shows, like a tale of the Thousand and One Nights, the double current of the Delphian worship. Pindar (*Pythian Hymns* i. 77) calls Apollo "king of Lykia and Delos."

<sup>3</sup> Heuzey (*Olympe et Acarnanie*, p. 60) has discovered on this mountain traces of a temple to Apollo.

<sup>4</sup> Archaic statuette in bronze, discovered on the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoös in Boiotia (excavations of Maurice Holleaux), from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. x. (1886), pl. ix., and p. 190. The god held a bow in his left hand, and doubtless an arrow in his right. On the left leg is engraved this dedication, which justifies the name given to the statue, Εὐφίτας ἀνέθηκε τοῖ(ι) Πτοῖεο(ι). "Eufitias has dedicated to (Apollo) Ptoös." Cf. the Apollo of Naxos, *Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. xxxvii. (1879) pl. vii.

physical purity; who, surrounded by the choir of Muses and Graces, charmed the Immortals by his singing and the music of his lyre, revealed to men future events, and struck down the wicked with his golden arrows. "May a lyre and curving bow be mine," cries the son of proud Leto. "and I will declare to men the unerring counsel of Zeus."<sup>2</sup>

COIN OF DELOS.<sup>1</sup>

Under the influence of ideas attached to the worship of Apollo, a higher civilization begins to appear,<sup>3</sup> and a new age of Greek life begins. Society is better organized; urban life is developed, and temples are built to the gods.<sup>4</sup> Songs and music take the place of savage cries. The gods draw near to men, and reveal their designs by the voice of oracles; for Zeus had given divine inspiration to Apollo, and seated him upon the prophetic throne.<sup>6</sup> Manners become milder. The offender is no longer condemned to death, and crime ceases to be an hereditary stain which must be punished in the posterity of the guilty man. Expiation may efface sin, and remorse break the avenging power of the Erinyes. It is a world of harmony, of light, intellect, and grace, replacing that of chaos, darkness, violence, and terror. Delphi is its centre, and the centre of the world; and thence the divinity spreads over the Hellenic race the inspiration of poetry, of music, and of art, as well as the revelation, never arrested, of the divine will.

THE GRACES.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laureled head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse ΔΗ. Lyre. (Silver coin.)

<sup>2</sup> *Hymn to Apollo.*

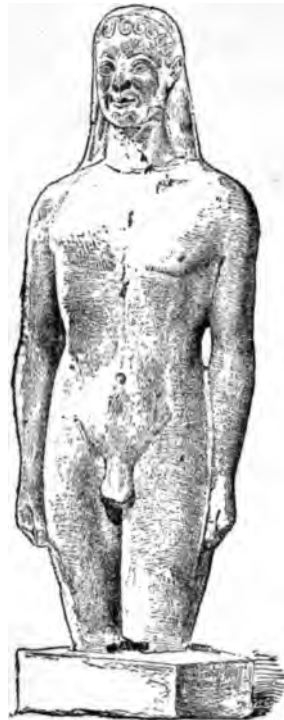
<sup>3</sup> See Maury's interesting analysis of the legend concerning the conflict between Apollo and the Python, — that is to say between the sun and the deadly miasmata of marshy countries. "There is no point in Greek mythology," he says (vol. i. pp. 130-142), "that shows more clearly the Vedic origin of Greek ideas. . . . The first populations of Greece were in possession of the naturalistic ideas which the Hindoos have preserved to us in the *Rig-Veda*, — the most pure and ancient summary."

<sup>4</sup> The earliest sanctuaries were mountain-tops, shady groves like that of Dodona, or places consecrated by a wall of rude stones, as upon Mount Lykaïos in Arkadia; or caves like that of Pan on Parnassos, or of Zeus in Krete. In this island the construction of temples goes back no farther than the time of Epimenides. Homer mentions none in Greece, and Kallimachos in his *Hymn to Apollo* says: "At four years of age Phoibos laid the first foundations in fair Ortygia near the circular lake. . . . From horns he built the altar, and placed under it walls of horn."

<sup>5</sup> Cameo on sardonyx of two layers (20 mill. by 22). *Cabinet de France*, No. 46.

<sup>6</sup> Aischylos, *Eumen.*, 15.

All the Hellenic tribes adopted the worship of Apollo; and before his altars met, in a common prayer and a common faith, the man of Dorian blood and the Greek of Ionian race. Sparta



APOLLO OF THERA.<sup>2</sup>

did nothing without consulting his oracle at Delphi; and Athens, with all Ionia, honored him at Delos with solemn festivals. The Milesians established his worship in all their colonies, from Naukratis on the banks of the Nile, to the Tauris beyond the Euxine Sea. The other gods remained Poliac divinities. Apollo and Zeus were the great national gods. Very early statues of Artemis were placed in the temple of Apollo; one of these, recently found at Delos, attests by its uncouthness its venerable antiquity.



APOLLO.<sup>1</sup>

A still loftier destiny awaited the god of Delphi in the last days of paganism, when the Emperor Aurelian entitled him the *Deus certus*, and Julian made him king of heaven and earth. Long before their time Pindar had ascribed to him some of the characteristics of the Mosaic Jehovah. "Thou," he says, "who knowest the fore-appointed issue of all things and all their paths; how many leaves in spring-time the earth sends forth, and how many sands in

<sup>1</sup> Apollo, seated on the omphalos in the temple of Delphi, holding in his right hand an arrow, and in the left his bow. The legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; in the field, two monograms. The obverse bears the head of Antiochos I., king of Syria. (Tetradrachm.)

<sup>2</sup> Marble statue discovered at Thera, from a cast in the Museum of the Trocadéro. The attitude of the figure, with the arms not separated from the body, and the legs almost in one piece, suggests the description which Pausanias gives of the statue of the athlete Arrachion, who was victorious before the fifty-fourth Olympiad (564 B. C.). The statue here represented is not of later date than the first part of the sixth century B. C. The name of Apollo has been disputed, especially since it has been proved that the Apollo of Tenea was discovered on a tomb, and was nothing more than a figure representing the dead person (*Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. xxxix. (1881) p. 54). But recent discoveries of Holleaux in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoös, and inscriptions upon these marbles or bronzes, show that these statues cannot all be regarded as simply likenesses of human beings.

the sea and in the rivers are tumbled by the waves and by the gusts of the winds, what is to befall, and whence it will be, thou well perceivest.”<sup>1</sup> The monotheistic idea already floated vaguely amid the clouds of polytheism.

Hesiod, at an epoch when there was a desire to classify the legends more ancient than Homer, and form them into a system, gives in his *Theogony*, a sort of Hellenic Genesis, a picture of the Olympian family.

“Foremost sprang Chaos, and next, broad-bosomed Earth [Ge], ever secure seat of all the immortals who inhabit the peaks of snow-clad Olympos, and dark, dim Tartaros, in a recess of Earth having broad ways, and Love [Eros]<sup>2</sup> who is most beautiful among immortal gods,—Love, that relaxes the limbs, and in the breasts of all gods and all men, subdues their reason and prudent counsel. But from Chaos were born Erebus and black Night [Nyx]; and from Nyx again sprang forth Aether and Day [Hemera], whom she bore after having conceived by union with Erebus in love. And Ge in

WINGED ARTEMIS.<sup>3</sup>BASE OF THE STATUE.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pythian Hymns*, ix. 80–86.

<sup>2</sup> Eros, unknown to Homer, is to Hesiod one of the primitive elements of the world.

<sup>3</sup> Marble statue of a winged Artemis discovered at Delos (explorations of Th. Homolle), from a cast in the Museum of the Trocadéro. (Cf. *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. iii. (1879) p. 395 and pl. vi.–vii.) The goddess is partly kneeling: the body does not rest upon the left knee, but upon the point of the left foot, while the right leg is bent and strained in the effort. This is the attitude that ancient sculptors and vase-painters most frequently give to signify hurried motion. Such is the case in the statue of Delos, which has moreover wings at the shoulders and the heels. The name of Artemis is justified by the inscription engraved upon the base. (Cf. *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. vii. (1883) p. 254.) It is there said that “Mikkiades (ΜΙΚΚ[ιᾶδης]) and Archermos (ἈΡΧΕΡΜΟΣ) have made and dedicated this statue to the far-darting goddess; they, the Chiotēs (ΟΙ ΧΙΟΙ) practising the hereditary art of Melas” (last line). These three names are celebrated in the history of early Greek statuary; they were borne by three sculptors of the same school and of the same family. Melas of Chios, one of the first who worked in marble, lived about the fortieth Olympiad. His son Mikkiades, his grandson

sooth bare first indeed, like to herself, starry Heaven [Ouranos], that he might shelter her around on all sides, so that she might ever be a secure seat for the blessed gods; and she brought forth vast mountains, lovely haunts



of deities, the nymphs who dwell along the woodland hills. She bore also the barren Sea [Pontos]<sup>1</sup> rushing with swollen stream, the Deep, without delightful love; but afterwards, embraced by Ouranos, she bore deep-eddy Ocean [Okeanos], Koios and Krios, Hyperion, Iapetos, Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, and Phoibe with golden coronet, and lovely Tethys. And after these was born youngest, wily Kronos, most savage of their children, and he hated his vigor-giving father. Then brought she forth next the Kyklopes having an overbearing spirit: Brontes and Steropes and stout-hearted Arges, who both gave to Zeus his thunder and forged his lightnings; and again other three sons great and mighty, Kothos and Briareus and Gyes."

The poet then relates the quarrel of Ouranos and his sons, and the parricidal attack of Kronos. But from the blood of the wounded Ouranos falling upon the earth other mythological beings spring to life,—giants and Erinyes and nymphs; and from the sea,—

ARTEMIS OF DELOS.<sup>2</sup>

"An awful, beauteous goddess; beneath her delicate feet the verdure throve around; her gods and men name Aphrodite, the foam-sprung goddess. Her Eros accompanied, and fair Desire followed, when first she was born and came into the host of the gods. And from the beginning this honor hath she, and this part hath she obtained among men and immortal gods, the amorous converse of maidens, their love and blandishment."

Archermos, and his great-grandsons Boupalos and Athenis, inherited the secrets of his art and his renown.

<sup>1</sup> In Homer, on the contrary, it is from the sea that all beings spring; and modern science agrees with him, showing that life began in the sea.

<sup>2</sup> Marble statue discovered at Delos (explorations of Th. Homolle), from a cast in the Museum of the Trocadéro. (Cf. *Bull. de Corr. hellén.* vol. iii. (1879), p. 99, and pl. i.) This statue presents the type of the primitive idols in polished stone, *ξόανα*, venerated by the Greeks, who often attributed to them a supernatural origin. Until the discovery of this statue this type had been known to us only by vase-paintings and coins. The statue of Delos is an original work of a Naxian sculptor who lived doubtless at the close of the sixth century B. C. A metric inscription (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, iii. 3), engraved on the right side of the statue, tells us that it was consecrated to Artemis by Nikandra, daughter of Deinodikos, of Naxos. The school of sculpture at Naxos is one of the most ancient in Greece.

The first Olympos is, like the earth of ancient days, a dwelling full of violent deeds. Kronos, conqueror of Ouranos, devours his sons Poseidon and Hades; their mother, Rheia, restores them to life, and by a stratagem saves Zeus, who with the aid of the Titans overthrows Kronos and seizes the empire of the world. To preserve it, he is soon obliged to struggle against his former allies; frightful combats ensue, in which all Nature takes part. The earth trembles, the ocean roars, and heaven is convulsed. The Titans heap up mountains in order to scale Olympos, and reply to thunderbolts by hurling enormous rocks against the sky. But they are overthrown, the early gods are conquered, the new gods triumph, and one of the Titans, Atlas, is condemned to bear up eternally the sky in which the victors dwell.

GOLD COIN.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Hesiod seeks to explain the enigma of the world.<sup>2</sup> The warfare of which he speaks may have been a tradition arising from early religious dissensions among the early Greeks. We find an echo of it even in more recent ages; something like it appears in the dramas of Aischylos, where the religious conceptions of Homer and Hesiod are more fully developed. Nor are the new gods, in the work of the great tragic author, the more moral divinities, as we see by the Zeus of *Prometheus Bound*;<sup>3</sup> in the *Eumenides* the Erinyes say to Apollo, —

“Thou didst overthrow, yea, thou, laws hoar with age,  
And drug with wine the ancient goddesses.”<sup>4</sup>

But this time it was equity which the new god caused to prevail over the unjust law of the ancient time.<sup>5</sup>

It has been asserted<sup>6</sup> that certain Pelasgic beliefs, echoes of the great theological systems of the East, were preserved in the Mys-

<sup>1</sup> The winged thunderbolt, on a coin of Agathokles, king of Syracuse, with the legend: ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. On the obverse, a helmeted head of Agathokles.

<sup>2</sup> *Theogony*, lines 664 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The whole drama in *Prometheus Bound* rests upon the opposition of the old and the new gods, and upon the usurpation of Zeus, who has conquered the throne of heaven, whence, in his turn, he shall be hurled.

<sup>4</sup> *Eumenides*, 696-697. Elsewhere Aischylos calls Apollo the fourth god who has come to Delphi.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter XX.

<sup>6</sup> This was the opinion of Otfried Müller; but neither Homer nor Hesiod speaks of the most famous of these Mysteries, those of Eleusis, which were held to be the most ancient.

teries. This is not true. The Mysteries were of more recent origin, and differ less in fact than in form from the popular religion. The latter did not shut its gods up in an impenetrable sanctuary ;



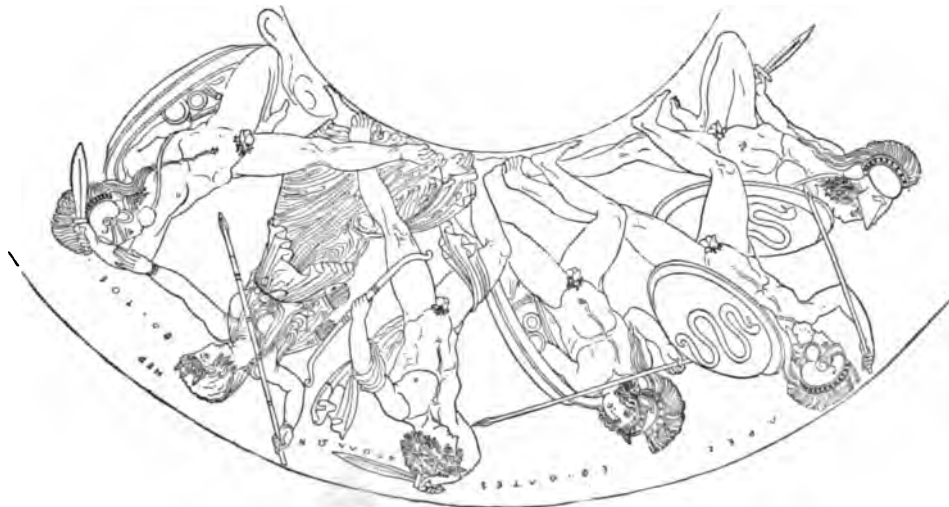
KRONOS AND RHEIA.<sup>1</sup>

it desired to see and touch them. Man was made in the image of God, the book of Genesis says, and it explains our present imperfections by the story of the Fall. Greek polytheism made its gods in the image of man ; only it endowed them with higher qualities :

Lobeck has shown in his *Aglaophamus* that they had no very lofty secrets to reveal to the initiated concerning God or man or the world, and that their mystery consisted only in the secrecy surrounding their rites. Any man might receive initiation. Concerning the Greek Mysteries, see Chapter XV.

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief from the altar of Zeus in the Capitol, from Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, pl. iii. No. 24. Kronos, seated, receives the stone, wrapped in linen, which Rheia gives him instead of the infant Zeus. (Cf. Overbeck, text, i. 326.)

NOTE. — The war between the gods and the Titans is here represented from a cup from the pottery of Erginos, painted by Aristophanes. (The signatures of the potter and the painter are at the bottom of the cup.) Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des kön. Museums zu Berlin*. (*Trinkschalen*, pl. ii. iii.) All the Great Gods take part in this combat, each encountering a giant, and are symmetrically grouped about the cup. On one side is Zeus (ΙΕΥΣ) struggling with Porphyryon (ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΩΝ) ; on the other Apollo (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) against Ephialtes (ΕΦΙΑΛΤΗΣ).



WAR BETWEEN THE GODS AND THE TITANS.





Ares was stronger, Apollo more adroit, and Aphrodite more beautiful, than their worshippers. In this difference as to the point of departure of the two religions, Hebrew and Greek, is prefigured the contrast between the two civilizations which sprang from them.

Let us further remark that, in the Hellenic theogony, the gods are not the creators, but only the rulers of the universe. There was a time when they were not. Sons of Heaven and Earth, they found the world already made, and they represent its diverse and changeful forces. Hence they are no more necessary or eternal than the natural phenomena they personify. "You shall die!" Prometheus says to them; and a day came when men heard a voice which cried: "The gods are dead!"

The gods of the Homeric Olympos, susceptible to joy and grief, and constantly in communication by dreams and oracles with the inhabitants of earth, had all the faults of human nature, all our passions,—anger, hatred, rage; even they suffered our woes. Apollo and Poseidon were the slaves of Laomedon. The Aloiides held Ares thirteen months a captive in a brazen prison. "Servitude," says a poet, "has been endured by Demeter. These also have endured it, the smith of Lemnos, and Poseidon, and Apollo with the silver bow, and the terrible Ares." In the battles before Troy, Aphrodite, Ares, Hades, even Here, the queen of Olympos, were wounded by mortals.<sup>1</sup> "Immortal blood flowed from the goddess," says Homer, describing the wound received by Aphrodite, "such ichor, namely, as floweth in the blessed gods. For they eat not bread, nor drink dark wine; therefore are they bloodless, and are called immortals."

Homer, who still loves the gigantic conceptions of the ancient

Then Athene (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ) against Enkelados (ΕΚΕΛΑΔΟΣ), and Here (ΗΕΡΑ) against Rhoitos (ΡΗΙΤΟΣ *sic*). Lastly, to the group of Artemis (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ) and Aigaion ([ΑΙ]ΓΑΙΩΝ) correspond Ares (ΑΡΕΣ) and Mimas ([ΜΙ]Μ[ας]). In the bottom of the cup is the encounter of Poseidon (ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ) with Polybotes (ΠΟΛΥΒΩΤΗΣ); behind the god stands Ge (ΓΕ), the Earth, her face and gestures indicating grief and terror. The painting is very carefully executed, the artist introducing as much variety as possible in the costumes and weapons. The gods fight with their favorite arms: Zeus with the thunderbolt, Artemis with her torches, Poseidon with his trident; Apollo has his bow. Among the giants, one is armed with a stone, one with a lance, most of them with a short sword. Only Aigaion has no weapon; with his left arm, around which is wrapped the skin of a wild beast, he strives to ward off the attack of Artemis.

<sup>1</sup> See in the *Iliad*, v. 374, the speech of Dione to Aphrodite when the latter has been wounded by Diomedes.

days, when the god was concealed by the phenomena which later he represents, gives to his divinities and to their physical strength enormous proportions. When Athene arms herself for the combat,



POSEIDON AND APOLLO AT TROY.<sup>1</sup>

her golden helmet is large enough to cover all the battalions of an army that a hundred large cities have sent into the field; and at one bound her horses cross as much space as a man, seated on

<sup>1</sup> Pompeian painting, unfortunately a very poor work. (Cf. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, pl. vii., No. 24.) Poseidon and Apollo, in revolt against Zeus, put themselves at the service of Laomedon and superintended the building of the walls of Troy. According to the legend, while Poseidon built the walls, Apollo guarded the flocks of the king upon Mount Ida (*Iliad*, xxi. 446, and vii. 452).

a lofty promontory on a clear day, can measure with his glance, looking up into the azure vault.

Elsewhere in the *Iliad*, Zeus, to give the Olympians a fitting idea of his power, says: —

“Go to, now, ye gods, make trial, that ye all may know. Fasten ye a rope of gold from heaven, and all ye gods lay hold thereof, and all goddesses. Yet could ye not drag from heaven to earth Zeus, counsellor supreme, not though ye toiled sore. But once I likewise were minded to draw with all my heart, then should I draw you up with very earth and sea withal. Thereafter would I bind the rope about a pinnacle of Olympus, and so should all these things be hung in air. By so much am I beyond gods and beyond men.”<sup>1</sup>

Bravado like this belongs to a very petty world, and is very far removed from the conception of a Divine Mind whose tranquil and sovereign sway philosophy and science will presently discover in the infinite depths of heaven.

However, these gods who represent, each of them, one of the aspects of Nature, rule over but a limited domain, — each city has its own, whom it worships with special devotion. Athene reigned at Athens, Demeter at Eleusis, Here at Argos, Apollo at Delphi, Dionysos at Thebes. Aphrodite in Cyprus. Elsewhere they received but scanty honors, and sometimes were even treated with indifference. The herald in the *Suppliants* of Aischylos had no fear of any but his own gods, and Iolas, in the *Herakleidae* of Euripides, maintains the supremacy of his goddess, Athene, over Here, who protects the Argives. These jealous and implacable divinities had their favorite nation, and held all others as enemies. All the woes of Troy came, says the poet, from the wrath of Here and



HERE OF ARGOS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, viii. 19–27 [English prose translation, pp. 143, 144].

<sup>2</sup> Bust of Here of Argos; her head surrounded with the polos, her hair falling over her shoulders. (Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of three layers, 7 cent. by 5. Chabouillet, *Catalogue des Camées*, etc., No. 9.)

Athene, angry that Paris should have given to Aphrodite the prize of beauty; Poseidon avenges upon them the fraud of Laomedon; and in turn men hate them, and express their hatred.



NAIAD OR NYMPH."

"Thou hast baulked me, Far-darter, most mischievous of all the gods," exclaims Achilles, "in that thou hast turned me hither from the wall; else should full many yet have bitten the dust or ever within Ilios had they come. Now hast thou robbed me of great renown, and lightly hast saved them, because thou hadst no vengeance to fear hereafter. Verily I would avenge me on thee, had I but the power."<sup>1</sup> Hence, also, the alliance of cults, which followed an alliance of peoples. Cities united by treaties sent solemn embassies on festival days to their paternal gods.

The religious sentiment was impaired by this parcelling out of the divinity; but from this abasement of the gods to the passions of men resulted the rich development of legendary poetry. Each divinity having his poets, they, while respecting the general outlines of the history of the god

whom they honored with their song, augmented it by a thousand incidents which, through the centuries, have filled the popular imagination and the dramatic stage with the adventures of heroes.

At the same time this mythology, which personified all the phenomena of the material world, and later, all those of the moral world, always retained traces of the Oriental theological systems

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xxii. 15 [English prose translation, p. 434].

<sup>2</sup> Marble statue found at Rome (Vatican. *Museo Pio-Clem.*, vol. i. pl. xxxv.).

and of the naturalism from which it was an outgrowth; its gods remained, to a certain point, identified with the powers of Nature. Zeus was not only the master of Olympos, the husband of Here, the hero of many an adventure in which the father of the gods deigned to abase himself to the daughters of earth, he was also the atmosphere enveloping the world. Apollo, the god of poetry and the arts, was also the sun, Helios; and Poseidon was himself the ocean over which he journeyed in his golden chariot while marine monsters gambolled about him. Countless divinities now identified with the element over which they presided, now separated from it that they might assume human form and human passions, peopled the rivers, the woods, the hills. Thus the Naiad was at once the spring itself and the chaste and timid goddess who hid herself in obscure grottos.<sup>2</sup>

ATHENE.<sup>1</sup>

The divinities most widely worshipped were the Twelve Great Gods of Olympos, whose empire was restricted and their functions determined by the mythology of later times: —

Zeus, the supreme god,<sup>3</sup> whom the other divinities obeyed, the protector of the whole Hellenic race, *Ζεὺς Πανελλήνιος*,<sup>4</sup> who was also called, like the Jehovah of the Old Testament, the Highest, *ὑψιστος*;

<sup>1</sup> The goddess wears the helmet and the aegis. (Cameo on sardonyx of two layers; 7 cent. by 6. *Cabinet de France*, No. 26 of the *Catalogue*.)

<sup>2</sup> The nymphs, or goddesses of waters and damp places, had perhaps in remote ages an important rôle, as representatives of the moist element so important to vegetation; but later they occupied only an intermediate rank between gods and men, enjoying a long life, but not immortality, although they fed upon ambrosia (Pausanias, x. 31. 10). Plutarch knew their age exactly; they died when 9,620 years of age (*Of the Cessation of Oracles*).

<sup>3</sup> This list of the Twelve Great Gods is that given by the Scholiast of Apollonios of Rhodes, *Ad Argon.*, ii. 535. It was not, of course, made out till a comparatively recent period.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, i. 18, 9. The three Peliades, or priestesses of Dodona, were thus invoked: *Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστὶ, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται, ὦ μέγας Ζεῦ* (*Id.*, x. 12, 10). In Attika and the Peloponnesos Zeus often received the surnames *ὑπατος*, *ὑψιστος* (*Id.*, i. 26, 5; iii. 17, 6; v. 15, 5, etc.).

Here, the queen of heaven, who had the peacock for a symbol, because the brilliant eyes of its plumage suggested the starry firmament ;

Poseidon, the god of the waters ;

Apollo, the sun, giving light, and the wind, giving inspiration ;



POSEIDON AND AMPHITRITE.<sup>1</sup>

Athene, the goddess of wisdom and knowledge, who gives to man prudent designs, and teaches woman beautiful work and wise counsels ;<sup>2</sup>

Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty ;

Ares, the god of war ;

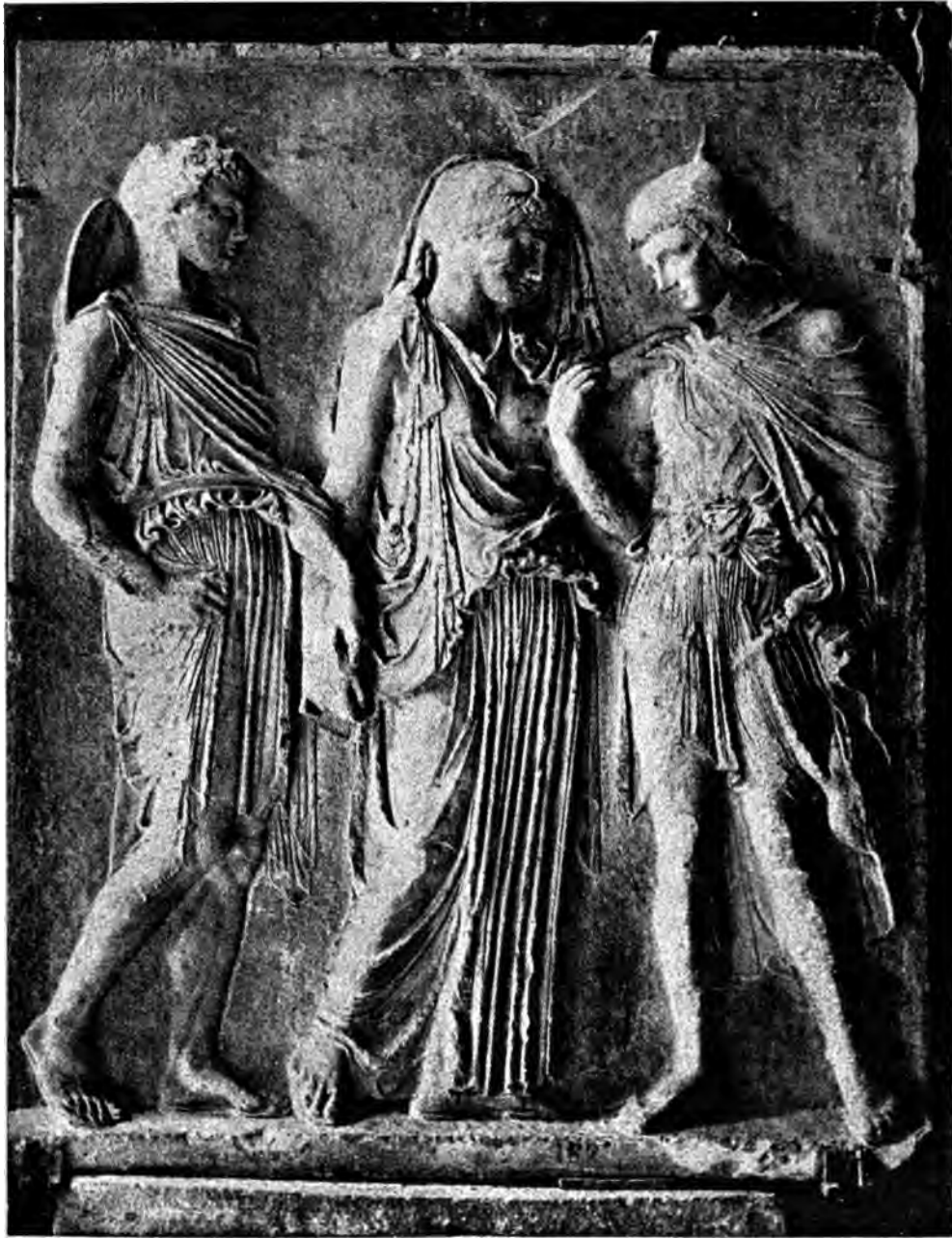
Hephaistos, who taught the useful arts ;

The chaste Hestia, who presided over the domestic hearth ;

Demeter, who caused the harvest to ripen ;

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. v. pl. xlix. Amphitrite is seated at the foot of the couch on which lies Poseidon (ΝΟΨΕΙΔΩΝ *sic*) ; in front of the bed is the table for repasts. Amphitrite holds in the left hand a perfume vase, and dips into it a brush which she is about to raise to her hair or her face.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, vii. 110. To Homer, Athene was not yet the protectress of Athens, but of Alalcomene, a Boiotian city on Lake Kopais (*Iliad*, iv. 8). Before being the Poliac divinity of Athens she was the protecting divinity of the Eteoboutadai, who furnished the priestesses of this goddess. (Cf. Aischines, *De Fals. seq.*)



HERMES, ORPHEUS, AND EURYDIKE.







Artemis, "the divine sister of Phoibos," like him unwedded, and like him "lover of the swift arrows ;"

Hermes, lastly, whose primitive character is uncertain, but who must have early taught men crafty eloquence and skill for deceit and lies, and the bold theft always held in honor among barbaric peoples. Homer already makes him the messenger of the gods: he was also the conductor of the dead,<sup>1</sup> and in this double function may have been only the wind which transmits afar the divine words, and bears to the subterranean abyss the souls of the dead,—poor withered leaves. But why and how did he become the Ithyphallic Hermes, and later the Divine Word, the Logos sent by the gods to earth?<sup>2</sup> Time brings together very different things under one name, and the history of religions is full of these transformations, which are one of the conditions of their vitality.

There were many other gods besides the great Olympians,—Hades, who, as well as Zeus and Poseidon, Demeter and Hestia, was the offspring of Kronos; Dionysos, a divinity of recent origin,<sup>3</sup> who comes from Asia on his chariot drawn by panthers and surrounded by a troop of Nymphs, Satyrs, and Bacchantes, after whom Seilenos stumbles; and all the minor gods of the fields, the forests, and the waters: Pan, the Fauns, Satyrs, Dryads, Naiads; and the nymphs of ocean: Nereids and Tritons who gambol around the

<sup>1</sup> On p. 347 is given a representation of a marble bas-relief in the Museum of Naples, from a photograph. Orpheus (ΣΥΕΦΟ) is taking leave of Euridike (ΕΥΡΥΔΙΚΗ), whom Hermes (ΗΡΜΗΣ *sic*) is about to lead back to the infernal regions. There are two ancient replicas of this bas-relief: one, in the *Villa Albani*, bears no inscription (cf. Zoega, *Bassirilievi antichi di Roma*, vol. i. pl. xlii.); the other, in the Louvre, has the following: ΖΕΤΥΣ, ΑΝΤΙΟΠΑ, ΑΜΦΙΩΝ, and dates from the Renaissance. (Cf. Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, text, ii., 1st part, p. 513.) See Gerhard and Panofka, *Neapels antike Bildwerke*, p. 67, No. 206.

<sup>2</sup> See *History of Rome*, vol. v. p. 447, and vol. vii. p. 486, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> In respect to Dionysos, see p. 331, and note 3, and Chapter XV. The Archaic Dionysos is virile and bearded. The feminine type of this divinity does not appear before the time of Praxiteles. As to Seilenos, the merry old drunkard with flattened nose, hairy ears, and rotund paunch, he is a Greek form of the grotesque deity of the Phœnicians, Bes, "the most ancient of popular caricatures," says Heuzey (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, 1884, p. 81). Asklepios also is a recent divinity. In Homer he is still only a man, or at least he is not yet fully a god. At Epidauros he was adored under the form of a serpent that was nourished in his temple. This strange symbol, reminding us of the sacred animals of Egypt and the East, was manifestly a foreign importation. As to the marvellous cures wrought in his temple, see Maury, ii. 458 *et seq.* It was said also that the dead were restored to life. The curative methods were various, and some very peculiar. See S. Reinach, *Rev. arch.*, 1884, ii. 129: *Les chiens dans le culte d'Esculape*.

car of Nereis and Amphitrite; Aiolos and the Winds; the Muses and the Fates, etc. Greek polytheism, giving divine personification to the phenomena of Nature and the passions of men, good and evil events, was led to multiply the gods infinitely.

Meantime the divine chaos is gradually reduced to order; the universe is parcelled out into three kingdoms,—Zeus has the sky



DIONYSOS AND ARIADNE.<sup>1</sup>

and the earth; Poseidon the watery element; Hades the subterranean world; and by the superiority of Zeus above his two brothers the Hellenic trinity resolved itself into unity,—a belief whose origin dates from the earliest times. Zeus, the master of all things, gathers around him on Olympos the great gods, his family and council. At the moment when Greeks and Trojans arm for the strife, —

“ Zeus bade Themis call the gods to council from many-folded Olympus’ brow; and she ranged all about, and bade them to the house of Zeus. There was no river came not up save only Ocean, nor any nymph, of all that haunt fair thickets and springs of waters and grassy water-meadows. And they came to the house of Zeus who gathereth the clouds, and set them down in the polished colonnades which Hephaistos in the cunning of his heart had wrought for Father Zeus. Thus gathered they within the doors of Zeus; nor was the Earthshaker heedless of the goddess’ call, but from the salt sea came up after the rest and set him in the midst, and inquired concerning the purpose of Zeus: ‘Wherefore, O Lord of the bright lightning, hast thou called the gods again to council? Say, ponderest thou somewhat concerning the Trojans and Achaeans? for lo, the war and the fighting of them are kindled very nigh.’ ”<sup>2</sup>

The great Olympian communicates to them his orders, and they obey. Already Homer calls Zeus the supreme ordainer, *ὑπάτος*

<sup>1</sup> Dionysos and Ariadne on a chariot drawn by two centaurs, one playing the lyre. They are preceded by Hymen, recognizable by his torch; Tros arranges a mantle to cover the bride and bridegroom; underneath is Okeanos, seated by the side of Thetis; a nymph seems to be announcing to them the marriage of Dionysos. (Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of two layers, 42 millim. by 46. Chabouillet, *Catalogue des Camées*, etc., No. 61.)

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xx., *ab initio* [English prose translation, p. 399].

μήστορ. From these obscure notions of a sovereign ruler, Sokrates, Plato, and Aristotle, at a later day, developed the idea of a sole God who maintains order and harmony in the two worlds of spirit and matter, but to whom the peoples long refused to sacrifice their local divinities.<sup>1</sup>



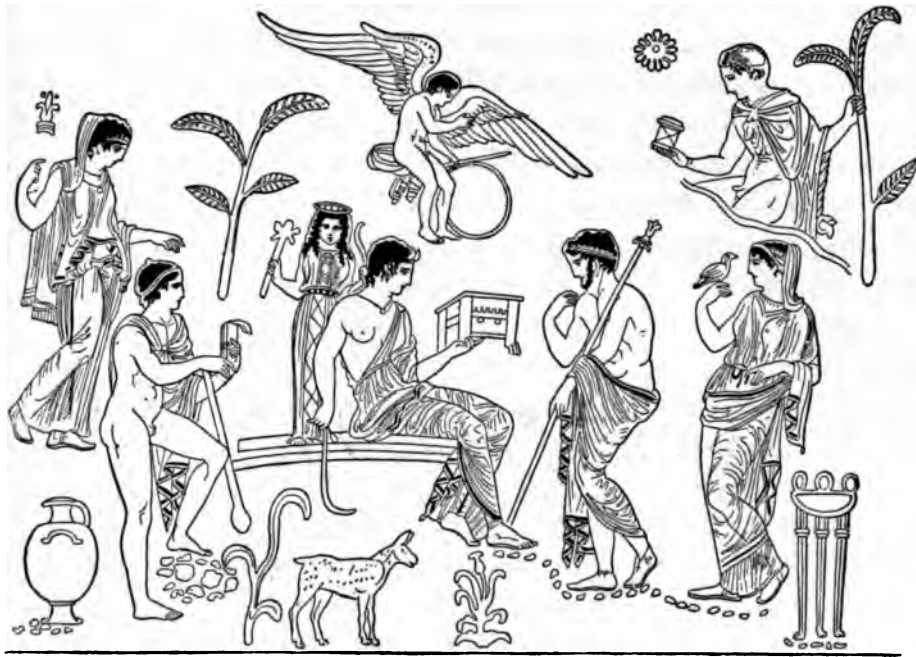
THETIS AND ACHILLEUS.<sup>2</sup>

But how did the Greeks bring their imaginations into accord with reality? They had solved the problem of all these surrounding but invisible divinities by attributing to them bodies of a peculiar kind, impalpable, incorruptible, capable of assuming all

<sup>1</sup> Very eminent scholars, Karsten, for example (*Xenophanis reliquiae*, p. 114), have remarked that the language of the Greeks lends itself with difficulty to the expression of the divine unity. If this be so, it is because their minds long refused the idea.

<sup>2</sup> Engraving on an Etruscan mirror in the *Cabinet de France* (*Catalogue*, No. 3,133. Cf. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, pl. ccxxi. and vol. iii. p. 21). Thetis (*Thetis*), winged, has her right hand on the shoulder of Achilles (*Achle*), who, wearing his armor, is about to leave home. Neoptolemos (*Nectlane*) is at the hero's side. Behind Thetis is seated Deidameia, wife of Achilles and mother of Neoptolemos.

forms, and never losing that flower of beauty which for mortals fades so quickly. They subjected these bodies to the necessity of alimentation, giving them for food, on the summits of Olympus, nectar and ambrosia; on earth, the smoke of flesh burned upon their altars; and they believed that they should the better gain divine favor the more of this smoke ascended to the sky. Called by her son, Thetis emerges from the depths of the sea "like a



ZEUS AND IO.<sup>1</sup>

mist." Athene, wishing to send Nausikaa to Odysseus, "came, as comes a breath of air," into the rich chamber where the royal maiden sleeps, and, to speak with her, assumes the appearance of one of her favorite companions. Notice, in the *Iliad*, how the gods render themselves invisible, or what forms they assume when they wish to mingle in the combats before Troy.

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Atlas, pl. vii. 8 (cf. text, vol. i. p. 467). In the centre Io is seated near an image of Here. She has two little horns on her forehead, and holds in her left hand a casket, and in the right an attribute which cannot be determined. Before her stands Zeus, wearing a wreath of myrtle and holding his sceptre; the goddess of love, Aphrodite, accompanies him, a dove on her hand. Above, Eros is seen, and also a satyr. Behind Io is her guardian, Argos, and also perhaps Here herself. A painting of difficult and uncertain explanation.

Thus to the eye of faith the gods were everywhere present and nowhere recognizable, except by the thoughts they inspired in men's minds. To legend, which can see so many things in the distance of ages, they present themselves under all forms: observe, for instance, those of which Zeus availed himself in the pursuit of Europa, Alkmene, Leda, Io, Antiope, and Danaë.

A further remark may be made. The Greek cult was always a homage prompted by selfish motives, never by love. As the

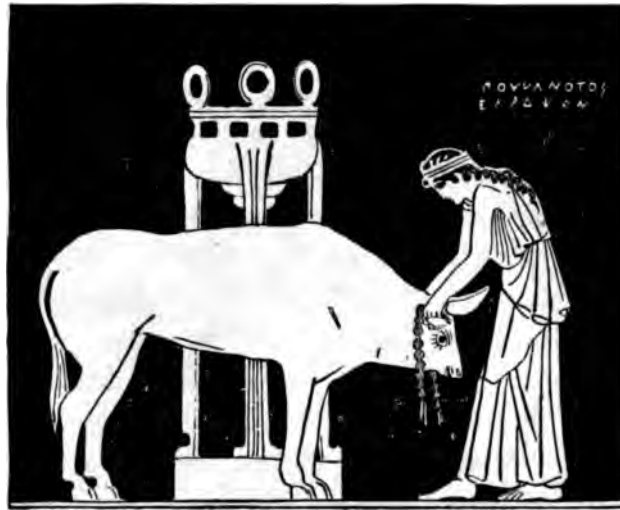


RAPE OF EUROPA.<sup>1</sup>

dead, by tasting the blood of a sacrifice, could for a moment recover life, so the gods were supposed to have need of victims and of honors to preserve their rank upon Olympus and their credit among men. Accordingly they were favorable to those cities which celebrated for them the most splendid festivals; but among the attributes with which men endowed them, that of goodness was never included. On his part, the suppliant asked of them for his earthly life, in return for his 'devotions, very

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monum. céramogr.*, vol. i. pl. xxvii. Europa is carried off by the bull across the seas; in the water are seen fishes. A winged Eros follows Europa, a long mantle in his hand. On the bank at the right stands Zeus himself, leaning on his sceptre. (Cf. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmyth.*, vol. i. p. 438, No. 19.) This double appearance of the god, at once spectator and actor, will be explained in Chapter XXI.

solid advantages; so that religious ceremonials concealed a bargain: "Give, and thou shalt receive." In Homer, Chryses calls upon Apollo to defend him because he has burned to the god "fat thighs of bulls and goats;" and to avenge herself on Oineios, who has neglected her altar, Artemis sends into his kingdom the fierce wild boar to devastate the fields of "lofty



PREPARATIONS FOR A SACRIFICE.<sup>1</sup>

Kalydon."<sup>2</sup> Aischylos expresses the sentiment which was at the bottom of men's hearts when he puts this prayer into the mouth of the Theban king threatened by many enemies:—

"If things go well, and this our city's saved,  
I vow that, staining with the blood of sheep  
The altar-hearths of gods, or slaying bulls,  
We'll fix our trophies; and our foemen's robes.  
On the spear's point on consecrated walls  
Before the shrines I'll hang."<sup>3</sup>

Rome had the same feeling later; she promised to Jupiter splendid games if he would give her the victory over the

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting signed by Polygnotos, from Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, pl. ccxliii. A priestess, crowned with ivy, ornaments with fillets the head of a bull. Behind is a raised tripod.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, i. 37; ix. 532.

<sup>3</sup> *The Seven before Thebes*, 252. Cf. Euripides, *The Phœnic.*, 573.

king of Macedon.<sup>1</sup> The Greeks had no filial reverence for their gods; they paid them honor through fear, knowing them to be at all times envious of human prosperity, and they never loved them.<sup>2</sup> When Telemachos sees his father transfigured by Athene, he takes him for a god, and his terror is apparent:—

“O stranger, thou art other than thou wert;  
Thy garb is not the same, nor are thy looks;  
Thou surely art some deity of those  
Whose habitation is the ample heaven.  
Be gracious to us; let us bring to thee  
Such sacrifices as thou wilt accept,  
And gifts of graven gold; be merciful.”<sup>3</sup>

The dogs of old Eumaios, recognizing the goddess, experience the same alarm; they yelp and run away. Like suitors whom nothing repels, the Greeks daily sought by presents to gain the good will of their gods, that misfortune might be averted from the family or the city; but they never expected from them, for the other world, the blessed state which many religions promise to their worshippers, nor did they ever conceive eternal happiness to lie in the contemplation of the divine perfections. Doubtless love for God, like all other human affections except maternal love, is in its nature selfish; but it exalts the soul of man, it makes martyrs, and this the Hellenic religion never did. The State had its martyrs, but not the temple; Greek piety was patriotism. It is true that the city and the temple were identical; the man who died for his city, died also for his domestic hearth and his Poliac divinities.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Rome*, ii. 158, and viii. 339. Among the Egyptians, prayer was a magical incantation which constrained the divinity, sated with the offerings that had been made him, to concede what his worshippers asked (Maspero, *Bull. de l'Inst. Égypt.*, 1885, pp. 23, 24).

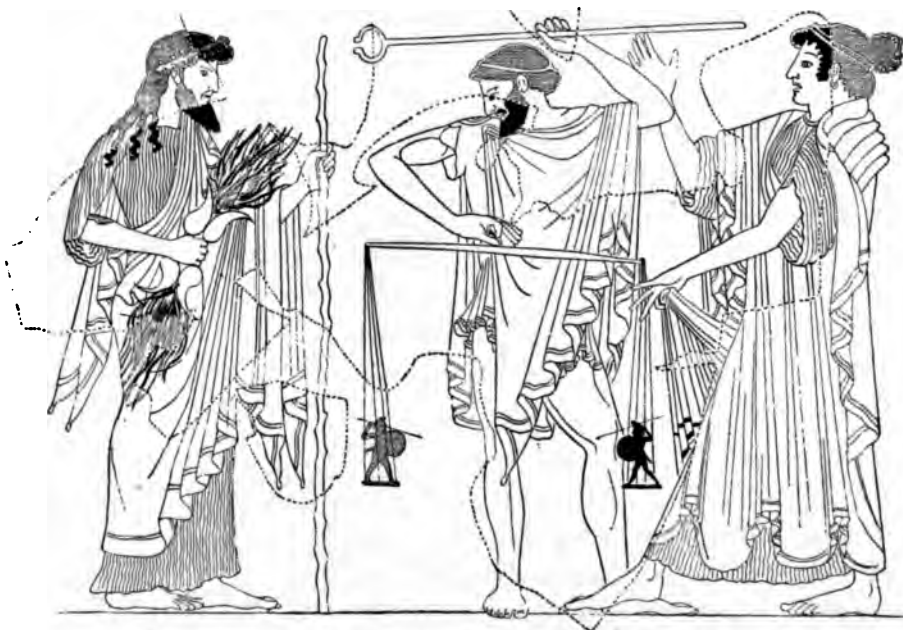
<sup>2</sup> “Fear alone, or the need of a support which they judged indispensable to human weakness, inspires the piety of the Homeric Greeks. . . . Both Greeks and Trojans sacrifice to the gods, without any trace of love ennobling the servile homage that weakness yields to strength, without any impulse of fervor bringing near to the objects of their devotion these souls humiliated and bowed down by fear.” — TOURNIER: *Nemesis*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, xvi. 1833 [Bryant's translation, 221–227].



## II. — DESTINY.

ABOVE all the gods of Olympus reigns Destiny, — a god without history, without legend, even without representation of any kind, who upon earth has no altars, and who from the heights



PSYCHOSTASIA, OR WEIGHING OF SOULS.<sup>1</sup>

of the empyrean, where no prayer can reach him, maintains the equilibrium of the moral world and withdraws it from the caprice of the other deities.<sup>2</sup> This god, who distributes to each man his

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a vase in the *Collection de Luynes*. (Cf. *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. ii. pl. x.) Hermes in the centre, recognizable by his caduceus, holds the balance of the scales where are to be seen the *εἴδωλα* of two warriors. Two witnesses stand by, — a god and a goddess: Zeus himself, on the left, armed with his thunderbolt and leaning on his sceptre; on the right, Thetis, the mother of Achilles, or perhaps Eos, the mother of Memnon. In the *Iliad* only Athene intervenes; but it is certainly not this goddess whom the painter has represented here.

<sup>2</sup> Destiny (*Αἷσα*, the part, or *Μοῖρα*, the fitting portion) gives to every man, from his birth onward, the good or evil which is inevitably his. "Men should not disturb us with their woes," says Zeus; "Destiny and their own ill-doing bring misfortunes upon them" (*Odyssey*, 32).

share of good and ill, was created by the troubled conscience of man, or rather was born of it, that he might explain the inexplicable and make the incomprehensible clear,—that is to say, the remote and hidden causes of events, and the higher motives which brought them to pass.

All the divinities, Zeus himself, were subject to the laws of Destiny. When the final struggle between Achilles and Hektor is about to begin, the Father of the gods takes the golden balance in which are weighed out the days of the two heroes: the scale of Hektor sinks towards the dwelling of Hades, and Apollo, protector of the sons of Priam, at once abandons him. Zeus also could not save his son Sarpedon from the spear of Patroklos, but, in sign of grief, “shed upon the earth dewdrops of blood.”<sup>1</sup> Both divinities silently accept the sovereign decree.

These gods, powerless before Destiny, who tears from them those whom they love, are like passive Nature, witnessing death every moment yet never suffering it to cast a shadow over her endless festival of continually expanding life, which is thus perpetuated only by means of death.

Fatalism, therefore, underlay the Greek faith; a thousand years after Homer we meet it again in Lucian. We have seen the proof of his power which Zeus offers to give the Olympians,—that rope of gold which he holds and to which he could attach the earth and seas. Lucian again uses this image, but to show, above the Father of the gods, the Fates, who hold Zeus himself at the end of their distaff,—or rather, who thus hold man, with his ambitions and hopes, suspended to the slender thread which the capricious divinities may at any instant cut.<sup>2</sup>

However, this dogma, the negation of divine Providence and of human responsibility, by degrees was limited: poets and historians sought to explain it by giving to the decrees of Fate the aspect of an expiation.

When Klytaimnestra enters from the palace in blood-stained

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xxii. 209, and xvi. 459. Plato, in the *Kratylos*, says that, not to speak the dreadful name of Hades, this word was reserved to designate the kingdom of the underworld, whose gloomy king, then called Plouton, was also Ploutos, the god of riches, because of the precious metals contained in the earth. Aristophanes employs both names for the same divinity.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, *Zeus Confounded*. But the great mocker could not long remain so serious; in his *Assembly of the Gods* he ridicules Destiny and the Fates, and he was right.

robe, after murdering Agamemnon and the Trojan captive Kassandra, who "like the swan chanted her last and dying song," she says to the chorus of Argive elders:—

" . . . Think then not of me  
As Agamemnon's spouse;  
But, in the semblance of this dead man's wife,  
The old and keen Avenger of the house  
Of Atreus, that cruel banqueter of old,  
Hath wrought out vengeance full  
On him who lieth here. . . .  
. . . Go thou, go ye,  
Ye aged sires, to your allotted homes.  
This that we have done ought to have sufficed."<sup>1</sup>

Herodotos relates that after Crœsus had sent to deposit his fetters at the entrance of the temple of Delphi, and to ask the god if he were not ashamed of having encouraged him deceitfully, the Pythia replied:—

"The god himself even cannot avoid the decrees of Fate; and Crœsus has atoned for the crime of his ancestor of the fifth generation, who, being one of the body-guard of the Herakleidai, was induced by the artifice of a woman to murder his master and to usurp his dignity. But although Apollo was desirous that the fall of Sardis should not happen in the reign of Crœsus, yet it was not in his power to avert the Fates; but so far as they allowed he accomplished, and conferred the boon, for he delayed the capture of Sardis three years."



ENGRAVED  
STONE.<sup>2</sup>

On hearing this, Crœsus acknowledged that he himself was in the wrong, and that Apollo was not to blame.<sup>3</sup> In the same way Sophokles explained, by an ancient crime, the woes of Oidipous, thus giving Destiny a moral character, as morality was understood by the Greeks.

Necessity, *Ἀνάγκη*, is an abstract idea; the primitive Greeks could not be content with this god, formless and nameless; they gave him ministers, the Moirai, who weave the web of existence, with the inevitable events of which this existence is made up, then cut the thread at the moment marked by Destiny and "the

<sup>1</sup> Aischylos, *Agamemnon*, *ad fin.* [Dr. Plumptre's translation.]

<sup>2</sup> Kassandra taking shelter under the Palladion. Engraved stone (cornelian, 17 millim. by 15. *Cabinet de France*, Chabouillet, No. 1,825.)

<sup>3</sup> Herodotos, I., xci.

unforgetting Furies."<sup>1</sup> These "gloomy daughters of Night" punish all the wrong-doing that is not reached by the law.<sup>2</sup> They were the remorse which tore the heart of the guilty, and they pursued into the infernal regions those sentenced by Destiny. These formidable deities, who terrify men's souls, are, however, honored. Guardians of the natural order of things, they smite only the transgressor. "If the sun," says Herakleitos, "should



THE ERINYES AND ORESTES.<sup>3</sup>

leave his path, the Eumenides, valiant companions of justice, would bring him back to it." And Pindar: "The Fates turn away in displeasure if any enmity arises among relations, so as to cast into the shade their reverence for each other."<sup>4</sup> We therefore cannot wonder to see in Aischylos the Erinyes change into the Eumenides, the Furies become revered and beneficent goddesses.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aischylos, *Prom.*, 516.

<sup>2</sup> In primitive societies, the tribe punishes only the offences that are committed against itself; crimes against individuals concern only the family.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment of a bas-relief on a sarcophagus in the Vatican, from the *Museo Pio-Clem.*, vol. v. pl. xxii. The artist represents the vengeance as accomplished: Klytämnestra is stretched dead at the feet of Orestes, who still holds his sword in his hand. But already the Furies pursue him, and threaten him with their torches and serpents: two of them appear behind the drapery which half conceals them, and Orestes turns away his head in alarm. Kneeling by the corpse, a paidagogos (slave-tutor) snatches from its base the domestic altar of Agamemnon, that it may not be polluted by the victim's blood. (Cf. Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 700.)

<sup>4</sup> Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, iv. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Concerning Exile*, chapter xi.

The Hellenes of the earliest times were not acquainted with a divinity who, later, was extremely honored at Rome, the goddess Fortune, standing upon her rolling wheel. Her Greek name,

THE THREE FURIES.<sup>1</sup>

Τύχη, does not occur in Homer; but we find it in Pindar when the progress of anthropomorphism and of art gave shape to an ancient formless divinity. "O Savior Fortune, child of Eleutherian Zeus," says the Theban poet, "by thee swift ships are guided over the ocean, and on the land fierce wars and assemblies fruitful in counsel; but the hopes of men are tossed about, often aloft, and then again cast down."<sup>2</sup> Destiny itself had no caprices. Representing the general laws of Kosmos and the harmony of the world, it obliged the gods to obey, without, however, prohibiting them from regrets, or even sometimes from retarding the execution of the fatal decrees. "They are not inexorable," says the counsellor of Achilles.

FORTUNE.<sup>3</sup>

The suppliant, even though guilty, appeases them by sacrifices, libations, and the smoke of victims. Ate, goddess of misfortune, daughter of Zeus,—who, however, "casts her from the starry heaven,"—"walks over the heads of men;"<sup>4</sup> but "the Prayers are also daughters of supreme Jove, both halt and wrinkled and squint-eyed," who follow after Ate and heal the injuries she does to men.<sup>5</sup>

By this poetic belief were justified all forms of pious devotion, prayers and vows which men address to the divinity, all offerings

<sup>1</sup> The Furies, on the reverse of a bronze coin, with the effigy of Julia Domna, struck at Laodikeia, in Phrygia. The three Eumenides, standing, clothed in long robes, the modios on their heads, holding lighted torches and poniards. At their feet a dog and a serpent. Legend: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympian Odes*, xii.

<sup>3</sup> Nemesis-Pantheia, standing, with the wings of a Victory, the headdress of Isis, the serpent and patera of Hygeia, and, at her feet, the wheel,—special attribute of Nemesis. (Engraved stone, cornelian, from the *Cabinet de France*, 40 millim. by 16. Chabouillet, *Catalogue des Camées*, etc., No. 1.720.)

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, xix. 87 et seq. "Ατη signifies "fatality," "misfortune." In Aischylos, *The Libation Pourers*, 381, she is confused with Nemesis and the Erinyes, or just vengeance.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 497. In Mazdaism, Prayer is also the daughter of Ahura-Mazda (J. Darmesteter, *Ormuzd and Ahriman*, p. 24).

which they make, and hopes of protection which they entertain; and this confidence, giving back to moral liberty a portion of its rights, saved the Greeks from abandoning themselves slothfully to the decrees of Fate. Notwithstanding their belief in Destiny, their conduct was that of men who felt themselves free. In the mind of these great logicians, who were so slow in bringing logic into accord with reason, and who loved liberty even in its abuses, fatality was mingled, in undefined proportions, which were on that very account more efficacious, with the moral law which imposes on men labor and effort, promising rewards and requiring expiations. When Xanthos announces to Achilles his approaching end, the hero replies: "I know it well;" and rushes into the thickest of the battle, opposing to Destiny his indomitable will. Aischylos everywhere shows us gods and men ruled by the fatal divinity; and yet, in *Prometheus Bound*, he says: "Zeus is free;" and Solon, who wrote, "Our prosperity and our adversity come from Destiny,"<sup>2</sup> reforms the laws of his country, because, while believing in a deaf and blind power above, he believes also in human wisdom.<sup>3</sup>

KLOTHO.<sup>1</sup>

Liberty and necessity are tenacious ideas, from which humanity cannot separate itself, since they are at once its strength and its weakness. Aristotle, the greatest of all Greek minds, believed in the one, the Stoics in the other, while they compensated for their enervating faith in fatalism by great virtues and heroic deaths. From the antique world these ideas were destined to pass, under other forms, into the Christian world, with the two mutually contradictory doctrines of works and of grace: the latter corresponding to destiny, since it is God who refuses or gives it; the other arising from free-will, since it is man who voluntarily performs the good works which are the condition of his salvation.

<sup>1</sup> Klotho, seated and spinning. (Engraved cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, 10 millim. by 9; Chabouillet, No. 1,714 of the *Catalogue*.)

<sup>2</sup> See the *Invocation to the Muses*.

<sup>3</sup> Saint Augustine, and many others since his time, have accepted this fortunate contradiction, which saved both religious faith and moral liberty. For correct belief, the divine foreknowledge is admitted, which is but another name for fatalism; and for correct living, free will is preserved.

## III. — THE JEALOUSY OF THE GODS.

WE have not as yet spoken of a singular belief — at which Homer hints, which Hesiod develops, and which long prevailed among the Greeks — in the jealousy of the gods.

Seated like Zeus on the summit of Ida, Homer sees gods and men fighting in the plain, and hears the earth tremble under their footsteps; he descends to “the meadow of asphodels” to hear the sad stories of the souls; or again, he observes Nausikaa, as beautiful as Artemis, dipping in the limpid stream the rich garments of her father, Alkinoös. He is a poet, giving to gods and



ENGRAVED  
CORNELIAN.<sup>1</sup>

men and to universal Nature grace and grandeur, without taking the trouble to co-ordinate into a system all the ideas which he expresses. Hesiod, on the contrary, is a moralist and a theologian, who assumes to know everything, — the genesis of gods and men, the different ages of humanity, and the woes let loose upon it by the Hellenic Eve and the jealousy of the gods. His theory of the ages is an Oriental belief which has been accepted in many lands; for this conception of an Age of Gold as the youth of the world, and an Age of Iron for a later period, corresponds to a disposition of the human mind, which so often places happiness in the past as an escape from the feeling of present or apprehended woes. To this belief and to that of the envy of the gods against men are referable the famous myths of Pandora and of Prometheus, with which we close the poetic cycle of the legendary period.

The gods and men, Hesiod relates, were born together;<sup>2</sup> the latter were mortal, but they lived like the gods, free from care, labor, and suffering, and were lovers of virtue. All good things surrounded them, and, exempt from cruel old age, they died

<sup>1</sup> Prometheus stooping to steal the fire from the altar of Zeus. Above the altar a butterfly, symbol of the soul. (Engraved cornelian, 13 millim. by 11. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,709.)

<sup>2</sup> *Works and Days*, i. 108. Pindar repeats this thought at the beginning of the *Sixth Nemean Ode*. Julian later uttered it in his *Letters*, and believed that the upright man would go to rejoin the gods in the stars. (Cf. *History of Rome*, viii. 222.) The Stoics also asserted that man was “a mortal god.”

falling gently asleep. This was the Golden Age.<sup>1</sup> When the earth had received into its bosom this first race of men, they became the tutelary guardians of mortals; enveloped in a cloud, they wandered over the earth, scattering abundance.



HERE AND PROMETHEUS.<sup>2</sup>

“Afterwards again the dwellers in Olympian mansions formed a second, a silver race, far inferior, like unto the golden neither in shape nor mind; but for a hundred years, indeed, a boy was reared and grew up beside his wise mother in her house, as a child. But when they came to age and reached the stature of manhood, for but a brief space they used to live, suffering harm from their own imprudence; for they quarrelled with one another, and were

<sup>1</sup> The Greek Eden.

<sup>2</sup> Vase-painting, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. v. pl. xxxv. (Cf. *Annali*, 1851, pp. 279–289.) Here (HPA *sic* for HEPA) is seated at the left; in one hand she holds a sceptre and flowers; with the other extends a *phiale* to Prometheus (ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΪS), welcoming him to an abode with the gods.



unwilling to worship the gods and sacrifice at the holy altars of the blessed, as men ought to do in their dwellings. Them, indeed, afterwards Zeus, the son of Kronos, buried in his wrath, because they gave not due honor to the blessed gods who inhabit Olympos. Now when Earth had engulfed this race also, they, beneath the ground, are called blessed mortals, second in rank; but still honor attends these also.

“And yet a third race of speech-gifted men formed Father Zeus, — of brass, not at all like unto the silver: formidable and mighty by reason of their ashen spears, whose care was the grief-producing deeds of Ares and insults; nor did they eat wheaten food only; and had stout hearts of adamant, invincible. Now vast force and unconquered hands grew from their sturdy arms. These had brazen weapons and brazen houses also, and with brass they wrought; for dark-colored iron as yet was not known.<sup>1</sup> They indeed also perished; terrible though they were, black Death seized them, and they quitted the bright sunlight.

“And when earth had covered this race also, again Zeus, son of Kronos, wrought yet another, a fourth, on the many-nourishing ground, more just and



CAMEO.<sup>2</sup>

worthy, a godlike race of heroes, who have also been called demigods. These also baneful war destroyed, a part fighting before seven-gated Thebes, in the Kadmeian land, for the flocks of Oidipous, and part also in ships, beyond the vast depths of the sea, across which they had sailed to Troy for the sake of the fair-haired

Helen. There, indeed, death enshrouded them; but to them Zeus, having given life and an abode apart from men, made them to dwell on the confines of earth, far from the immortals. Among these Kronos rules. And they dwell, free from care, in the Islands of the Blest, beside deep-eddying ocean, — blest heroes, for whom thrice in the year does a fertile soil bear blooming, honey-sweet fruits.”

Thus the earliest race gained the blessed life by justice, and the heroes by courage. But now heaven and earth grow dark. The poet says: —

“Would that I had not mingled with the fifth race of men, but had either died before or been born afterwards! For now, in truth, is the iron

<sup>1</sup> . . . γένος χάλκειον . . . χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος. Hesiod believed, like our archaeologists, that bronze was known to men before iron. He gives the men of this age ἀδάμαντος θυμός. But Hesiod himself was familiar with steel.

<sup>2</sup> Winged genius of Modesty escaping from the hands of Aphrodite, who is kneeling near a masque of Seilenos. In front of the winged genius, a lighted altar. Seilenos holds a basket filled with fruit, — symbol of fecundity. Aphrodite seems about to bring to sight some object hidden under the masque. This explanation, notwithstanding Winckelmann's authority, is not incontestable. (Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of two layers, 15 millim. by 25. Chabouillet, *Catalogue des Camées*, etc., No. 85.)

race, which never cease, by day or night, from toil and wretchedness, corrupt as they are: but the gods will bring upon them heavy calamities; yet



BIRTH OF PANDORA.<sup>1</sup>

nevertheless, even for these, shall good be mingled with ills. But Zeus will also destroy this race of men. Nor will father be friendly to sons,

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monum. céramogr.*, vol. iii. pl. xlv. Hephaistos (ΗΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ) has just completed his work. With the left hand he still holds the hammer which he has been using; with the right, he attaches a fillet to her head. Pandora is looking towards Athene (ΑΘΗΝΑΑ), who is fastening a rich garment upon her shoulders. She is here designated by the name ΝΗΣΙΔΟΡΑ. It is not necessary to complete 'Α]νησιδώρα, as Gerhard proposes; it is better, with Braun, to compare this new name with the gloss of Hesychius, Νῆσις· σῶρευσις, which means exactly "accumulation." The name thus corresponds with the scene which the artist has depicted: Athene and Hephaistos loading Pandora with their gifts. (Cf. Gerhard, *Festgedanken an Winckelmann*, 1841, and Braun, *Bull. dell' Inst. archeol.*, 1849, p. 98.)

nor sons at all to parent; nor guest to host; nor comrade to comrade; nor will brother be dear, even as it was aforetime, to brother. But quickly will they dishonor parents growing old, and will blame them, addressing them with harsh words, impious, and unmindful of the vengeance of the gods. And one will sack another's city; neither will there be any favor to the trusty or the just and good, but rather they will honor a man that doeth evil and is overbearing; and justice and shame will not be in their hands, and the bad will injure the better man, speaking in perverse speeches and swearing a false oath. But on all wretched mortals malicious Envy, exulting in ills, will attend with hateful look. Then, also to Olympus will Shame and Retribution<sup>1</sup> depart, after they have clad their fair skins in white raiment, to the tribe of the immortals; but the baneful griefs shall remain behind, and against evil there shall be no resource."

Whence come these miseries? From the jealousy of the gods. Heaven is a reflection of the earth; and human jealousy of all that lifts itself up suggests that heaven itself may regard with displeasure the prosperity of men. Hesiod says:—

"Now the gods keep hidden from men their means of subsistence; for else easily mightest thou, even in one day, have wrought so that thou shouldest have enough for the year, even though being idle. But Zeus, wrathful at heart, concealed it, because wily Prometheus had beguiled him. Therefore, as I think, he devised baneful cares for men. And fire he hid, which indeed the good son of Iapetos stole back for mankind in a hollow fennel-stalk, after he had escaped the notice of Zeus.

"Him, then, cloud-compelling Zeus addressed in wrath: 'O son of Iapetos, wily above all men, thou exuldest in having stolen fire and deceived my wisdom,—a heavy woe to thyself and to men that shall come after! To them now will I give evil instead of fire.' So spake he, and the father of men and gods laughed aloud; but he bade the illustrious Hephaistos with all speed mix earth and water,<sup>2</sup> and endue it with human voice and strength, and make, like to immortal goddesses, the fair, lovely beauty of a maiden. Then he bade Athene teach her to weave the highly wrought web, and golden Aphrodite to shed around her head grace; but to endue her with a shameless mind and tricky manners, he charged the leader, Argicide Hermes.

<sup>1</sup> To the later writers, Nemesis is the personification of just vengeance, the punisher of all excesses of fortune or of pride. In this passage of Hesiod she is the guardian of moral laws, and, alarmed by the crimes of men, she escapes to the sky. When Odysseus asks of Ilos poison to tip his arrows, Ilos refuses through fear of Nemesis, who cannot suffer a disloyal combat (*Odys.*, i. 261–263).

<sup>2</sup> We have seen, p. 148, note 2. and p. 194, that Prometheus formed also the first man out of earth.

"So he bade; and they obeyed Zeus, the sovereign son of Kronos; and forthwith out of the earth the famous crippled god fashioned one like unto a modest maiden, through the counsels of the son of Kronos; and the goddess, gleaming-eyed Athene, girdled and arrayed her; and around her the goddess Graces and august Persuasion hung golden chains, while fair-tressed Hours crowned her with spring flowers; and Pallas Athene adapted every ornament to her person. But in her breast Hermes wrought falsehoods and wily speeches and tricky manners, by the counsels of deep-thundering Zeus; and the herald of the gods placed within her a winning voice; and this woman he called Pandora, because all inhabiting Olympian mansions bestowed on her a gift,—a mischief to inventive man.

"But when he had perfected the dire, inextricable snare, Father Zeus sent to Epimetheus the famous slayer of Argos, swift messenger of the gods, carrying her as a gift. Nor did Epimetheus<sup>1</sup> consider that Prometheus had told him never to accept a gift from Olympian Zeus, but to send it back, lest haply any ill should arise to mortals. But he, after receiving it, felt the evil when now he possessed it.

"For aforetime, indeed, the races of men were wont to live on the earth free from ills, and without severe labor and painful diseases, which have brought death on mortals. But the woman, having with her hands removed the great lid from the vessel,<sup>2</sup> dispersed them. And Hope alone remained within, beneath the edge of the vessel, nor did it flit forth; for before that Pandora had replaced the lid, by the counsels of ægis-bearing, cloud-compelling Zeus. But myriad ills have roamed forth among men. For full, indeed, is earth of woes, and full the sea; and in the day as well as at night diseases unbidden haunt mankind, and silently bear ills to man. Thus it is not possible in any way to escape the will of Zeus."

HOPE.<sup>3</sup>

The story seems like a far-off echo of the Biblical legend,—the woman ruining the human race, and yet blessing it with her grace and maternal devotion, and God condemning man to labor, which has proved his strength and his salvation.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Greeks, the two names, Prometheus and Epimetheus, signify the wise and the foolish. But the Hellenic Prometheus is no other than the Hindoo Pramathyus, whose name signifies, he who obtains fire by friction.

<sup>2</sup> [Full of evils, which Prometheus had received from the Satyrs and had deposited with his brother. — ED.]

<sup>3</sup> Hope, standing, facing left, holding a flower in her right hand, with her left raises the folds of her stola. Legend: ΕΛΠΙΣ CEBACTH. In the field, the date L IA (the year 10). (Reverse of a bronze coin of the Emperor Domitian, struck at Alexandria in Egypt.)

Still, a ray of sunlight steals into the midst of the old poet's despair. On the edge of Pandora's box Hope clings, and does not fly away. But Hesiod does no more than show her to men, and they remain overwhelmed, day and night, by fatigue and sorrow, while "the Muses all at once answering, with beautiful voice sing the immortal gifts of the gods and the sufferings of men."<sup>1</sup> The Greeks at a later period called the plague a divine malady.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, without theology or metaphysics, but by graceful fancies, the Greeks explained the origin of evil. In their belief, evil came



CAMEO OF SARDONYX.<sup>4</sup>

from heaven; and in fact it has been often thought to come thence, for Ahri-man and Satan are revolting gods or angels. But the latter were understood to be evil-intentioned, while no one of the Greek gods had that character. They do not injure mankind for pleasure; Nemesis punishes to bring the guilty back by expiation, and to give salutary terror to others. Born of the earth like men, and contemporary with them,<sup>3</sup> the gods acquired their power only after desperate fighting, and they are jealous of their grandeur. Too

lofty a fortune seems to them a diminution of their dignity,—possibly a menace. Did not Prometheus cause Zeus alarm, and

<sup>1</sup> *Hymn to Apollo*, 190 *et seq.* In the *Iliad* (xvii. 443) Zeus cries: "Of all that breathe and move upon the earth, there is not anything more wretched than man!" And he lies awake "pondering in his mind how he may destroy many at the ships of the Greeks" (*Il.*, ii. 6), or looks down, tranquil and radiant, "exulting in glory, upon the city of the Trojans, and the ships of the Greeks, and the brightness of armor, and the slaying and the slain" (*Il.*, xi. 78), and "delights his soul" in the spectacle (*Il.*, xx. 22). In the *Odyssey*, Poseidon, angry with the Phœniakians, skilful sailors who brave the tempest, changes into a rock a vessel of theirs which had borne Odysseus safely to Ithaka (*Odys.*, vii. 504; xiii. 163). One of the reasons which, according to Herodotos (vii. 203), decided the Greeks to fight at Thermopylai, was that Xerxes, having had great prosperity, was undoubtedly destined at last to experience reverses. Plutarch, in the second century of the Christian era, believed in the hatred of the gods towards men (*Of the Cessation of Oracles*, 4).

<sup>2</sup> Littré, *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, i. 75.

<sup>3</sup> It should be remembered that the Greek gods are not creators. (See above, p. 341.)

<sup>4</sup> Ares striking the Giant Mimas (an episode of the war of the Gods and Titans). Cameo of sardonyx of three layers (6 cent. by 5). *Cabinet de France*, No. 37 of the *Catalogue*.

did not the Titans, younger sons of the Earth, endanger the masters of Olympus? Genius even offends them; they do not choose that the veil be raised which conceals the secrets of heaven and earth.<sup>1</sup> The Pythia forbids the Knidians to cut their isthmus: it would be to presume to make over the divine work;<sup>2</sup> and the Darius of Aischylos recognizes that Xerxes met a deserved punishment at Salamis for having dared to fetter by a bridge the sea, full-flowing from Sestos to Abydos.

NEMESIS.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, fundamentally, the action of these jealous gods was moral in its influence, creating a belief in the necessity of expiation, either in this life or the other,<sup>4</sup> and by the fear which this divine envy, this Nemesis following unmerited prosperity, inspired in proud or presumptuous minds.<sup>5</sup> When Aisopos was asked, "In what is Zeus employed?" he replied, "In abasing the proud and raising up the humble."<sup>6</sup> And there is something true in this doctrine if, instead of the gods, we place human agency. He who rises too high, without being held in check by a firm mind, is seized with vertigo and falls. Alkibiades accused of his misfortunes some daimon, jealous of his renown; himself was the one to be accused.

THE TWO NEMESSES.<sup>7</sup>

The belief in the envy of the gods, and later of malevolent genii, *κακοδαίμονες*, rooted itself in Greek polytheism to explain unmerited misfortunes and signal downfalls. Croesus proclaims

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, ii. 32; Xenophon, *Memor.*, iv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotos, i. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Reverse of a coin of Antoninus at Tion in Bithynia. Legend: NEMECIC TIANON. Nemesis standing, at her feet the wheel (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,016).

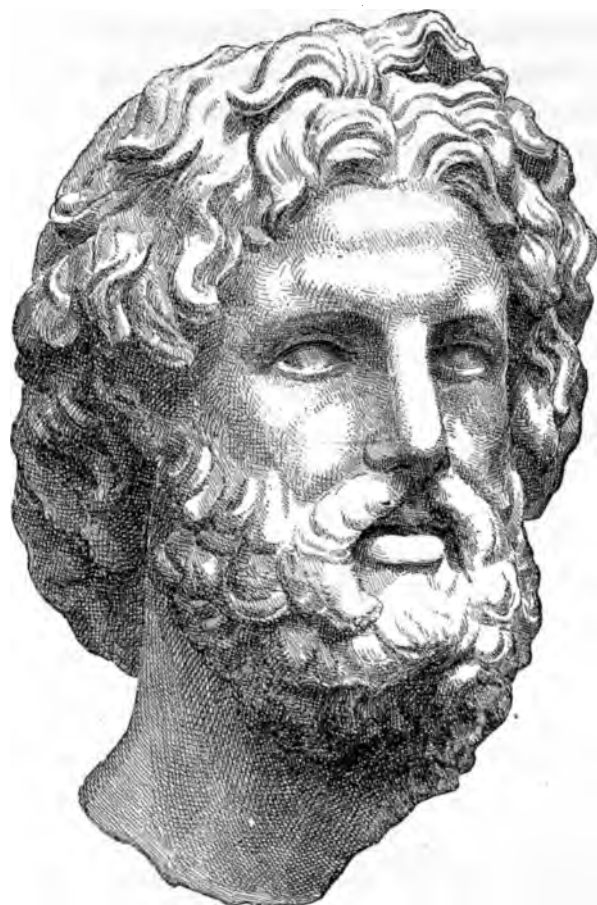
<sup>4</sup> Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Geta, struck at Smyrna. The two figures face each other, one holding the sistrum; at the feet of the other is the wheel, and the right hand of each is raised to her breast. Legend: ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑ ΡΟΥΦΙΝΟΥ ΟΦ . . . ΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ.

<sup>5</sup> This belief is not in Homer, but we find it in Aischylos; it took its rise from the Mysteries and from the Orphic faith.

<sup>6</sup> In later representations of Nemesis she has a carpenter's level and a bridle as attributes; or her finger on her lips, to suggest moderation in speech: always the same lesson, — to avoid excess. (Cf. Pausanias, vii. 5, and i. 33, 6.) Divine justice had also another name, which in the tragic poets is joined to that of Zeus, — Alastor, the avenger of evil deeds (Aischylos, *Agam.*, 1425, 1479, 1508; the *Persians*, 343; Sophokles, *Trach.*, 1092). Euripides, who has very little faith in Zeus, calls Alastor the evil genius of the individual, *ὁὐς ἀλάστορ*.

<sup>7</sup> Diogenes Laertius, i. 3, s. v. *Chilo*. Two thousand years later, Luther said of the Pope: "His present greatness is a proof that the end is near."

himself the most fortunate of men; in punishment of this pride, says Herodotos, the vengeance of the gods fell upon him in a terrible manner. Polykrates of Samos, less confident, casts into



HEAD OF ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>

the sea his most precious treasure to avert the wrath of the jealous divinities; but his attempt is in vain. In the mind of Aischylos, it is the too great prosperity of Persia and the insolent pride of her kings that were punished

“By Dorian spear upon Plataian ground.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marble found at Melos and now in the British Museum; from a photograph. According to some archæologists this head represents Asklepios. (For busts and heads of Zeus, see Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Atlas, pl. ii. and iii.)

<sup>2</sup> The *Persians*, 817. The same thought recurs in the *Agamemnon*, 750 *et seq.*

Pindar, in his *Odes*, reminds the conqueror who lifts his glory to the clouds that it is thence that the lightning comes which smites the tallest oaks;<sup>1</sup> and Menander, with the grace of the Greek genius, repeats the pathetic sentiment, once uttered by Solon to Croesus: "Whom the gods love die young."

This idea of jealousy passed from religion into politics at a later period: ostracism, established at Athens, Argos, and Syracuse, was nothing else than the alarmed suspicion of the populace against its great men. The Romans had not this legal method of freeing themselves from similar dangers, but, like their Hellenic kindred, they held Nemesis in fear. Camillus, conqueror of Veii, dreads the woes in store for too great prosperity, and the Roman consul affixed beneath his triumphal chariot the object, *fascinum*, which was to turn away from him arrows of divine envy.<sup>2</sup> Even Cæsar, the sceptical, performed, to conciliate Nemesis,—or shall we say to satisfy the superstitious multitude?—an act of humility, which did not however save him from the Ides of March: returning to Rome after great victories, he ascended the steps of the Capitol on his knees. Nobler was the devotion of the Decii, who gave themselves up to die to avert the divine displeasure.

NIOBE.<sup>3</sup>

Christianity banishes this idea, but men retain it still; some still remain in the Iron Age of Hesiod, victims to "the devouring cares" which hasten humanity's decay: such are those, decrepit in their youth, who have faith neither in love nor art nor poetry nor action, and—without the excuse of Buddhist or Christian monk, who look for the full fruition of existence in another

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos (vii. 10) makes Artabanos say the same thing to Xerxes, in an address where occurs also this remark, of great significance to the Greeks, "The god will not suffer any one but himself to have high thoughts." The devout Nikias, in Thucydides, vii. 77, hopes, after the disasters before Syracuse, that if some god has been hostile to the Sicilian expedition, he will be favorable to the Athenians, "Now more deserving of his pity than of his hatred." See in the *Ploutos* of Aristophanes, verses 87–92, this divinity's conduct towards Zeus, ἀνθρώποις φθονῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny (xxxviii. 4) calls the *fascinum* the *medicus invidiae*.

<sup>3</sup> Niobe and her youngest daughter. See p. 372, note 2.



world — call death a deliverance. Let them hear what Greece said to the despairing, twenty-four centuries ago, by the lips of her most tragic poet.

The devout Aischylos knows that the son of Alkmene has been condemned by Here to terrible trials; that the daughter of Inachos, pursued by the fatal gad-fly across Europe and Asia,

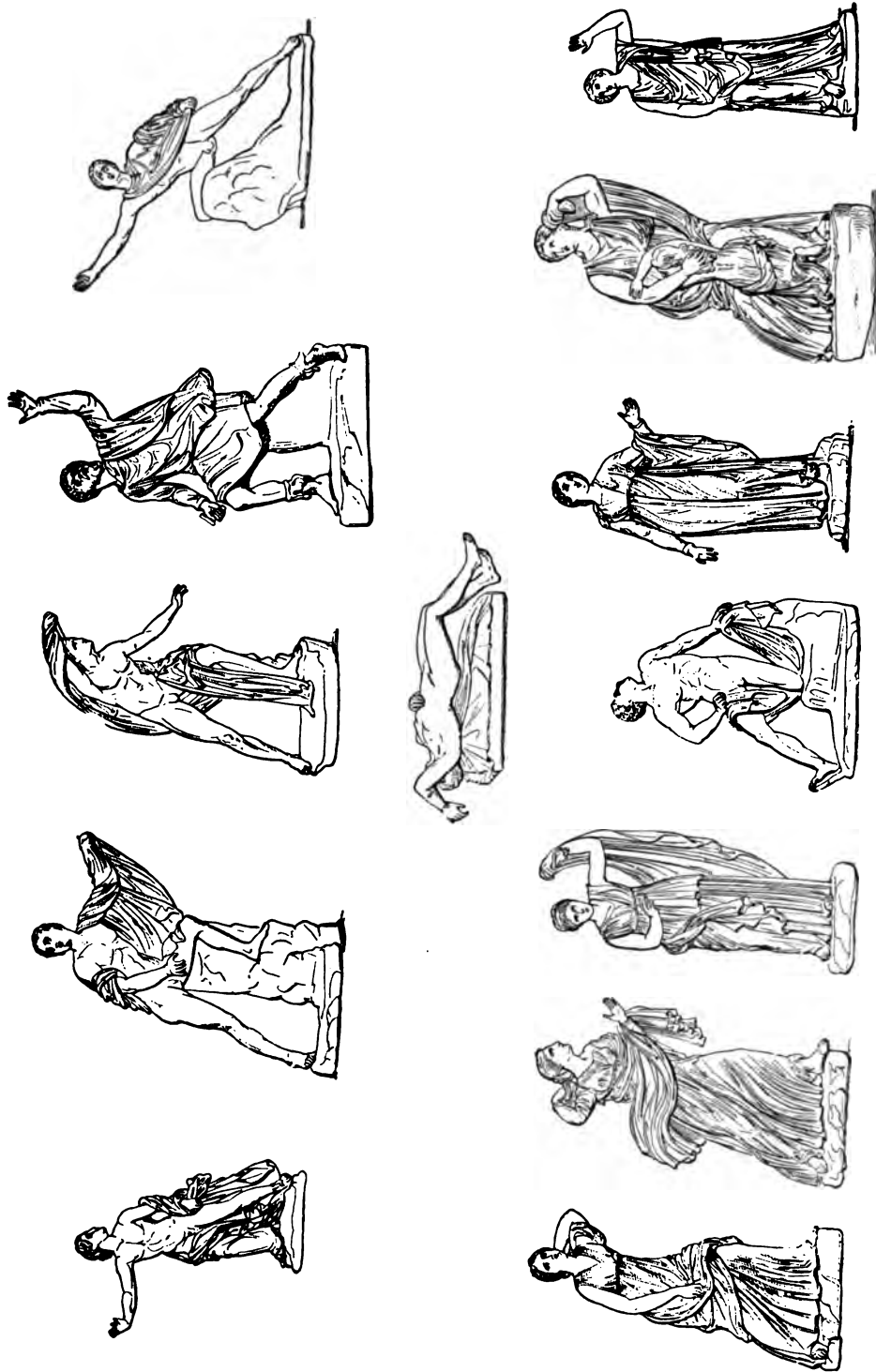


ZEUS-POSEIDON, ZEUS-HADES, AND ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>

and as far as the Nile, was also the innocent victim of the same goddess; and that Niobe and her children perished through Leto's jealousy. In the simplest, but also the grandest, of his

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a vase of Chiusi, from the *Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. ix. (1851) pl. xxvii. ('Th. Panofka). Zeus-Poseidon at the right is recognizable by the trident on which he leans; with the left hand he holds a thunderbolt. His two brothers, Zeus-Hades and Zeus, hold theirs in the right hand, and the lightning in the left. This curious painting has been compared with the passage in Pausanias where (ii. 24, 4 and 5) it is said that Zeus reigns at once in heaven, under the earth (cf. Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 457), and in the sea.

NOTE. — See this subject represented, p. 373, from a sarcophagus in the Vatican, and the statues from casts in the *École des Beaux-Arts*. These statues, discovered at Rome in 1583, and transported in 1772 to Florence, where they underwent restoration, and where they still are, are only copies of originals which decorated in the time of the elder Pliny the temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome. C. Sosius had no doubt brought them from Asia Minor, and it was a question in Pliny's time whether they should be attributed to Scopas or to Praxiteles. However this may be, the sculptor has especially striven, as a dramatic poet would have done, to render these unhappy victims of Leto objects of our keenest sympathies; the attitude of extreme distress, combined with unbroken strength, of Niobe herself is particularly remarkable. For the arrangement of the statues, which according to one opinion decorated the pediment of a temple, and according to another were placed one by one against the columns of a portico, see K. B. Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, pp. 312 *et seq.*



THE CHILDREN OF NIOBE.



dramas he shows Prometheus, the son of divine justice,<sup>1</sup> nailed by Hephaistos to a rock in the Caucasus. "The winged dog, coming all day, an uninvited guest, makes banquet of his flesh." What is the Titan's crime? He has loved the human race too well,—he has given them fire, arts, the science of numbers, making them masters of Nature.<sup>2</sup> The great victim who, for humanity, endures the cruellest tortures, remains haughty and unsubmissive. To the offers of Zeus, he replies by mysterious threats. The usurper of the throne of Olympos becomes angry. The storm is unchained:—

HOPE.<sup>3</sup>

"The earth shakes to and fro,  
And the loud thunder's voice  
Bellows hard by, and blaze  
The flashing levin-fires;  
And tempests whirl the dust,  
And gusts of all wild winds  
On one another leap  
In wild, conflicting blasts;  
And sky with sea is blent:  
Such is the storm from Zeus  
That comes as working fear,  
In terrors manifest.  
O mother venerable!  
O Aither, rolling round!  
The common light of all,  
Seest thou what wrongs I bear?"

The shattered earth trembles upon its base, and the rock to which Prometheus is chained is hurled into Tartaros;<sup>4</sup> but before he

<sup>1</sup> He is the son of Themis.

<sup>2</sup> See, in *Prometheus Bound*, the brilliant enumeration, ending with the words: "All arts of mortals from Prometheus spring." (Cf. above, p. 195, note 1.) His name signifies "the foreseeing." Plutarch, in his treatise on *Fortune*, makes of him the Genius of the human ideal, of good sense, and of reason: 'Ο Προμηθεὺς τούτέστιν ὁ λογισμὸς.

<sup>3</sup> Standing figure, wearing a diadem, raising the side of her tunic with the left hand, and holding in the right hand a flower. (Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of three layers, 37 millim. by 23. No. 94 of the *Catalogue*.)

<sup>4</sup> It is not clear that Horace had Aischylos in mind, but in his magnificent *Ode* (III. iii.) there is, so to speak, an echo of the Greek poet:—

"*Justum et tenacem propositi virum*  
.  
.  
.  
*Si fractus illabatur orbis*  
*Impavidum ferient ruinae.*"

vanishes from the world, the Titan has flung a last word to mankind: Zeus shall fall from heaven,<sup>1</sup> and a reign of justice upon the earth shall begin.

The Hope that Hesiod left in Pandora's box, Aischylos has put into the heart of humanity, and we keep it still.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV. — HEROES AND DAIMONS.

NEITHER the Romans nor the Greeks had books containing the dogmas of their religion, or a sacerdotal caste whose duty it was to teach it. Belief, therefore, was never fixed by an immutable text; it remained subject to the caprices of the popular imagination and the fancies of poets and artists,—the only theologians of Hellenism. The poets, who love images, the people, who, like children, see them everywhere, could not conceive an Olympos lost in the depths of the sky; they placed it near the earth, and still further reduced the distance between gods and men by peopling the avenues to Olympos with demi-gods and heroes: thus have done almost all descendants of the Aryan family.

The hero of Greek mythology is a man born of a god and a human mother, or one made famous by his exploits or services. To these "sons of Zeus" the Greeks offered a worship at first without libations or sacrifices, but with prayers and funeral honors. They venerated the hero as a tutelary genius who watched over his worshippers, succored them in times of danger, and sent them prophetic dreams. Such were not only Herakles, Theseus, Iason, Perseus, and the like, but leaders of migrations,

<sup>1</sup> A legend, in certain regards analogous, is found in Pindar, *Isthmian Odes*, vii. 69 *et seq.* Thetis, he says, was not permitted to marry Zeus or Poseidon, because Themis had said that the ocean goddess should bear a son more powerful than his father. For this reason Peleus married her, and became the father of Achilleus. The belief in a threat suspended by Destiny, even over the head of Zeus, and much more, over states and over mortal men, was current at that time in Greece; and what tragic grandeur it assumes in Aischylos! But a century shall have scarcely passed, and we find Thucydides no longer believing it. See in Chapter XX. the paragraph in reference to this author.

<sup>2</sup> Theognis, the poet of Megara, is also a defeated and despairing man; he, however, is not without hope. See, in Chapter XI., the paragraph concerning Megara, and in Chapter XX. the picture drawn by Sophokles of the happy effects of human industry.

founders of cities, patrons of families or of corporations, even men remarkable for personal advantages of strength or beauty.<sup>1</sup> Thus every city and village had its divine patrons. The ten tribes of Athens honored the heroes whose names they bore, and the kings of Sparta received heroic honors after their death.<sup>2</sup> Even in



EX-VOTO TO THESEUS.<sup>3</sup>

remote Phokis, Pausanias found marvellous legends which, from cities less obscure, would have come down to us. The oracle of Delphi was perpetually pronouncing apotheosis by ordering sacrifices to be offered to the new god. Onesilos, having incited Cyprus against the Persians, was conquered and killed by the

<sup>1</sup> See, for this apotheosis of beauty, Chapter XXI.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *Rep. of Lak.*, chap. xv.; Pausanias, I. v. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Athenian bas-relief in the Louvre. Two persons in an attitude of worship, doubtless Sosippos and his son, are advancing towards Theseus, who is designated by an inscription (ΘΗΣΕΥΣ). The bas-relief is offered by Sosippos, son of Nauarchides (ΣΩΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΝΑΥΑΡΧΙΔΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ).

inhabitants of Amathos, who hung up his head over their city gate. "When it had become hollow," says the historian, "a swarm of bees entered it and filled it with honeycomb. The people of Amathos consulted the oracle respecting it, and an answer was given them that they should take down the head and bury it, and sacrifice annually to Onesilos as a hero, which they continued to do till my time."<sup>1</sup> The Athenians made a hero of some physician whose name even is now unknown. They gave him a priest, and many offerings attested his wonderful cures.<sup>2</sup> Hippokrates at Kos, and Brasidas at Amphipolis, also received divine honors.<sup>3</sup> This was a pagan worship of saints; certain Christian saints also are believed to cure various diseases. This cult has existed almost everywhere, for it is a religious conception corresponding to a need in human nature. Islam even has saints in its empty sky.<sup>4</sup>

Also, like the saints of the Roman Catholic Church, the heroes interceded for men with the superior divinities. Helen, daughter of Zeus, obtains restoration of sight for the poet Stesichoros; Aiakos induces Zeus to put an end to a famine which had afflicted Aigina. At Marathon and at Salamis certain heroes fight for their people, and were held to be under obligation to defend the city in which they had found their last dwelling. Athens believed that the bones of Oidipous and of Theseus would drive away all dangers, and cared not to investigate whether or not the legend of Oidipous at Kolonos was a poet's fancy, and Kimon's discovery at Skyros a political fraud. Orchomenos was no more scrupulous in the matter of Aktaion's remains, nor Tegeia and Sparta as to those of Orestes. Even Hesiod, who had not

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, v. 114.

<sup>2</sup> S. Reinach, *Épigraphie grecque*, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, vii. 37, and Thucydides, v. 2.

<sup>4</sup> In the last days of Greece, as a final appeal to dying patriotism, Greece made Aratos and Philopoimen divine heroes. It has been maintained in a very clever book, and with an ingenuity that has gained many partisans, that all social unities — families, phratritai, demoi, tribes — were formed by religion. Evidently religion was their tie, but was it their principle? Homer and Aristotle absolutely contradict this hypothesis: the former by the social condition which he shows us, the latter by the reasons which caused him to write the first chapter of his *Politics*: "The Formation of Societies." Nor does it appear in the mediæval period (which is better known to us than the obscure centuries of Greece when these associations were established) that it is the saint with whom the family, or the chief with whom the village, originates. The material fact must have preceded the religious fact, and the apotheosis commanded by the Delphic oracle shows that frequently the religious tie was formed very late.

at all expected the honor, became, by the Pythia's intervention, the divine protector of the people of Orchomenos, who went as far as Naupaktos to obtain his bones.

But we must not fail to recognize the fact that these Greek saints did not receive apotheosis as a reward for virtue. Moral worth counted for little; strength, courage, skill, for much. In a word, the man to be honored was he who seemed in some way to go beyond the common limits.

Apparitions were almost as frequent as in the mediæval period. With the mental vision which is so strong that it sees the invisible, men beheld gods and demi-gods and heroes coming down from heaven, or emerging from their tombs to aid their worshippers, or simply to attest their own continued existence. In the glow of the setting sun, Achilles, always young and beautiful, often appeared, clad in armor of gold, to sailors coasting the Island of Leukas, where his tomb was shown.



COIN OF SIKYON.<sup>1</sup>

When two States made alliance, it often happened that, to show their fraternal union, each would adopt the heroes of the other as objects of worship, associating them with its own national deities. On the other hand, the patrons of two rival States, like certain saints of two hostile villages in the Middle Ages, could by no means be on friendly terms. Herodotos<sup>2</sup> has preserved for us the curious story of the hostility of a tyrant of Sikyon, Kleisthenes, towards the hero Adrastos. This king of Argos, one of the seven chiefs united against Thebes, had a shrine at Sikyon, where tragic choruses each year commemorated his exploits and misfortunes. Kleisthenes, at this time at war with the Argives, wished to expel Adrastos from the country because of his nationality; but the thing was not easily done. Vainly was the oracle of Delphi appealed to; the Pythia made reply that Adrastos was the king of the city,<sup>3</sup> and that Kleisthenes deserved to be stoned. Obligated to abandon open force, Kleisthenes devised means by which he hoped to compel Adrastos to go away voluntarily. He sent to Thebes, and

<sup>1</sup> v. 67.

<sup>2</sup> A tomb with a hermes and a cypress on each side; legend: ΣΙΚΥΝΙΩΝ. Reverse of a bronze coin of Sikyon, with the effigy of the Empress Plautilla, wife of Caracalla.

<sup>3</sup> The gods and heroes were often in ancient poetry called kings.



begged to be allowed to introduce into Sikyon the worship of Melanippos, a Theban hero who in the War of the Seven had killed the brother and the son-in-law of Adrastos. The request being granted, Kleisthenes then established the Theban hero in a shrine, in a strong position, adjacent to that of Adrastos; and, furthermore, deprived Adrastos of the sacrifices and festivals which he had hitherto enjoyed, and gave them to the new-comer; and he also consecrated to Dionysos the tragic choruses<sup>1</sup> which had been celebrated in honor of Adrastos. The result seems to have been satisfactory; the Argive hero, humiliated at this neglect and at the honors paid his rival, doubtless withdrew to Argos. We must also take for granted that, with the hero, were exiled also his partisans, a political strife doubtless being concealed under the religious one.

The position of these personages, midway between heaven and earth, without belonging entirely to one or the other, was not very well defined in some cases. A remark of the devout Herodotos shows the uncertainty prevalent in respect to them, even when the most illustrious hero of all was in question. "The researches I have made evidently prove," he says, "that Herakles is a god of great antiquity, and therefore those Greeks appear to me to have acted most correctly who have built two kinds of temples sacred to Herakles, and sacrifice to one as an Olympian divinity, while they pay honor to the other as a hero."<sup>2</sup>

The heroes who held so important a place in the religious life of the Greeks had also a share in public affairs, and were named in treaties. One of the clauses of the famous agreement which bears the name of Nikias (421 B. C.) stipulates that all the

<sup>1</sup> In these "tragic choruses" offered by Kleisthenes to Dionysos has been seen the first stage of the lyric drama, whence, later, tragedy was developed.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 44.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a painting on a vase from the manufactory of Hiero, from Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*. *Trinkschalen*, pl. iv., v. In the centre is a hermes of Dionysos, covered with rich garments, and adorned with branches of ivy, bunches of grapes, and those braided cushions (σπίραι) which porters put on their heads. Before the representation of the god is the altar on which sacrifices are offered to him. At the right and left, four mænads, with hair unbound, dance to the music of the double flute. One of them carries a thyrsus; the flute-player is behind the hermes of the god. Under the handle, which bears the signature of the artisan, is a great bowl, garlanded with ivy.



DIONYSIAC SCENE.

WILSON AND SONS



conditions of it shall be observed faithfully, "unless the gods and the heroes prevent."<sup>1</sup>

And, finally, we shall see the descendants of these illustrious persons, guardians of their ancestor's tomb and of the rites of his worship, form the class of the Eupatridai, who so long remained in power in the Greek States.

With the heroes who, sons of a divine father and a mortal mother, make a connecting link between earth and heaven, are classed the daimons, of whom Hesiod has already spoken, and of whom we shall again hear under the topic of the worship of the dead.

In certain aspects the Greeks very early had a confused idea of the divine power, regarded absolutely, and independent of the personages who divided among themselves its functions. The *δαίμων* of Homer, like the Latin *numen*, is not always any particular divine being; the word often corresponds to the instinctive belief in a higher, indefinite power, τὸ δαιμόνιον, or, as Cicero says, *divinum quiddam*, which produces the sad or welcome incidents which happen unexpectedly, and can be attributed to no divinity in particular.<sup>2</sup> Who whispers to Telemachos the words of prudence which he shall speak to Nestor, or causes the bow to drop from the hand of Teuker about to aim at Hektor? Who inspires Achilles with his fatal obstinacy? Of what daimon does Andromache speak, when, at Hektor's departure, she smiles through her tears, or Priam, when he goes to the tent of Achilles? Homer knows not; it is a divine and nameless power which acts within them. The devout will call it Providence later; the indifferent, Chance or Fortune;<sup>3</sup> and philosophers will see in it only the unconscious action of the will.<sup>4</sup>

To the mind of Homer, then, the daimon is, when the word

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, v. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See in Chapter XXI. § 2, remarks on the belief in "the real presence" of the Poliac divinities in their statues. This distinction passed from religion into public affairs. The Romans of the Empire conceived of the tribuneship and the tribunitian power, the proconsulship and the proconsular power, as separate. Each year they elected tribunes and proconsuls, but they gave to Augustus for life the *potestas tribunicia* and the *imperium proconsulare*.

<sup>3</sup> "Good Fortune," however, soon had a temple in Athens; and the name was put in the fourth century B. C. at the beginning of decrees, as a lucky phrase: Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη.

<sup>4</sup> See in Chapter XXVII. the daimon of Sokrates.

is not applied to an Olympian, a super-terrestrial power without name or form, having no place in the celestial hierarchy, but a sharer in the divine essence. Hesiod condenses this divine mist into real persons. His daimons are the men of the Age of Gold who have obtained immortality, and "to the number of thrice ten thousand, go to and fro over the earth, wrapped in mist, givers of riches, watching both the decisions of justice and harsh deeds." But having

ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>AGATHODAIMON.<sup>2</sup>

none of those poetic legends which all the heroes possess, and retaining something of that abstract condition from which they have been developed, they are destined to be less popular. "Hesiod," says Plutarch, "was the first who established four classes of reasoning beings who people the universe: at the summit, the gods; then a great number of good genii; then the heroes, or demi-gods; lastly, men."<sup>3</sup> The necessity for having what Christianity later called guardian angels was to make of the honored dead beneficent genii, *εὐδαίμονες*, whose number was still further multiplied by the Orphic doctrine. Zeus even became *par excellence* "the good daimon," Agathodaimon.<sup>4</sup> Later, philosophers, to explain the origin of evil, imagined evil daimons, *κακοδαίμονες*, and the reign of Satan began. Alas! guardian angels and satanic demons exist from all time, for they are within us; and the heaven which they inhabit is but a reflection from the earth which they have never left.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus upon his throne, holding the sceptre; at his feet, the eagle. (Engraved cornelian, 12 millim. by 10; *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,419.)

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Egyptian Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> *Of the Cessation of Oracles*, 10; Hild, *Des Démons*, p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias (viii. 76) saw in Arkadia, on the road from Megalopolis to Mainale, a temple Ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ. In Alexandria, the syncretic, Agathodaimon, doubtless Serapis, the Great Healer, is represented under the form of a serpent, the constant companion of Asklepias. Our coin, with the effigy of Nero, was struck at Alexandria, and bears the legend: NEO. ΑΓΑΘΟΔΑΙΜΩΝ. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 911.)

V.—THE DOMESTIC RELIGION; THE DEAD; THE WORSHIP OF  
THE HEARTH.

PLATO represents family ties as springing from “a community of domestic gods.”<sup>1</sup> These divinities resided at the ancestral tomb and at the family hearth. We must therefore add this domestic religion, as ancient as the Aryan race,<sup>2</sup> to that which formed the public cult.

Homer regards death as the supreme evil,<sup>3</sup> and it inspires melancholy thoughts in his mind: “As is the race of leaves,” he says, “even such is the race of men. Some leaves the wind sheds upon the ground, and the fructifying wood produces others, and these grow up in the season of spring. Such are the generations of men.”<sup>4</sup> Pindar, even, is seized with sadness, amid his triumphal odes: “Creatures of a day! what are we? What are we not? The dream of a shadow.”<sup>5</sup> Tradition from the remotest ages, doubtless from the most distant parts of Asia, the horror of destruction, and the dreams in which appear beloved or formidable apparitions, had apprised him that at death man enters upon a second existence. The tie which, in life, attached the spirit to the body was loosened, but not entirely broken; the soul, more free, wandered by night about the places where it had dwelt, or descended into the sterile fields where grows the asphodel, plant of the dead. Achilles thus reigned over the shades, while his body reposed under the tumulus in the Trojan plain, or in the Island of Leukas in the Euxine. Odysseus sees in Hades an image of Herakles, who recounts to him his woes; but he knows that the hero himself dwells among the immortal gods on Olympus,

<sup>1</sup> *Εὐγένειαν δὲ καὶ δημογῶν θεῶν κοινωνίαν* (*Laws*, V., vol. i. p. 334).

<sup>2</sup> In India funeral rites resembling in many respects those of ancient Greece are still performed. If the son does not make the *śraddhas* which set free the souls of his ancestors, they wander sadly between heaven and earth. Cf. Monier Williams, *Hindoos*, pp. 68 and 158 (1882), and *Religious Thought and Life in India* (1885).

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, xvi. 453 and 572.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, vi. 145–149.

<sup>5</sup> *Pythian Odes*, viii. 135.

the husband of the youthful Hebe.<sup>1</sup> The soul of Phryxos, says Pindar, came from Kolchis to ask Pelias that his body should be brought back to rest in Greece.<sup>2</sup>

This separation of the two halves of man, this survival of personality after the body is but dust, are beliefs which we find underlying all religions. The warrior fell in battle: men saw the icy immobility and the appalling silence of death succeed the turbulence of life; and they found it impossible to believe that so much energy had suddenly been destroyed. But the idea of a second existence was at first extremely rude; to the dead were given what would be useful to him, — his favorite dogs, his horses, his captives slain at his funeral pile.<sup>3</sup> The early Gauls had this custom, and the American Indians still observe it, that nothing may be lacking to the warrior for the chase in the other world.

The dead, whom Homer calls "the powerless heads," νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα,<sup>4</sup> could not expect from him a very happy fate. Impalpable shapes, the souls wander silent, with an obscure consciousness, and less following their free will than obedient to instinctive habits. Minos continued to judge, as in his island of Krete; Nestor related his exploits, and "Orion hunted beasts in the meadow of asphodel which he had himself killed in the desert mountains;"<sup>5</sup> but all with regret for their earthly existence, and an incurable weariness of the present state. The great Agamemnon regards with envy that king of Ithaka whom Poseidon has for ten years pursued with his wrath, and Achilles says to Odysseus: "I would rather be on earth, serving for hire with a man of no estate, who had not much livelihood, than rule here over all the departed dead!"<sup>6</sup>

When the goddess counsels Odysseus to descend into the kingdom of Hades, "most hateful of all the gods,"<sup>7</sup> "You must consult," she says, "the soul of Theban Teiresias, to whom, even when dead, Persephone has given understanding alone to be wise;

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, xi. *ad fin.* See also above, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Pythian Odes*, iv. 284.

<sup>3</sup> See in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad* the funeral of Patroklos.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey*, x. 521.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, xi. 570.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, 487.

<sup>7</sup> . . . θεῶν ἐχθιστος ἀπάντων (*Iliad*, ix. 159).

but the rest flit about like shades." And even for this diviner, before he can hear and answer, it is needful that he drink the blood of the victims whom Odysseus will sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> Aischylos is very near Homer in genius, and also in his belief as to another life. When Darius returns into the tomb whence the poet has caused him to come forth, his last words to the Persian elders are: —

". . . Farewell, although in woe,  
And give your soul its daily bread of joy;  
For to the dead no profit bringeth wealth."<sup>2</sup>

And Sappho, writing against a rival, says: "There will remain of thee no memory, for thou hast not gathered roses on the Pieriean hill, and shalt descend unknown into the abodes of Hades to the blind dead."<sup>3</sup> The god of death, Θάνατος, is brother of Sleep, and is ultimately identified with him.<sup>4</sup>

The Greeks long thought as did the son of Peleus; not to mention those who believed that, after death, there remained only a handful of ashes. Even in Aischylos we read: "The dead are capable neither of joy nor pain; it is a strange mistake, therefore, to seek to do them good or ill;" to Euripides the dead have no consciousness;<sup>5</sup> and Anakreon sings, "Drink, friends, before Death makes you dust!"

We must not expect the popular imagination to have much logic; it takes delight in contradictions. Parallel with these gloomy beliefs which we have described, others more cheerful prevailed. Hesiod tells us that the dead of the heroic age "dwell with minds free from care in the Islands of the Blest, beside deep-eddying ocean."<sup>6</sup>

The Olympians were reluctant to look upon that which was, or was about to be, a dead body. Apollo goes away from the

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, xi. 96-99.

<sup>2</sup> *Persians*, 840.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetae lyrici Graeci*, ed. Bergk, p. 615.

<sup>4</sup> Both unite, Thanatos and Hypnos, to carry away into Lykia Sarpedon, killed before Troy (*Iliad*, xvi. 671). See engraving on the next page.

<sup>5</sup> *Antigone*, fr. 16. In the *Herakleidae* one of the characters says: "What consciousness remains beneath the earth? Heaven grant there be none! Death is the remedy for all woes."

<sup>6</sup> Homer mentions these Islands of the Blest (*Odyssey*, iv. 561), but he does not seem to have been familiar with the worship of the dead. [Cf. also Pindar, *Olympic Odes*, ii. 128. — ED.]



dying Alkestis, not to be obliged to purify himself from a pollution; and Artemis leaves Hippolytos as life departs, saying to him, "It is not permitted to me to look upon the dead."<sup>1</sup> These gods of nature were as impassive as Nature herself in the presence of grief. More charitable than its gods, the people loved its dead, would keep them near, and organized for them a cult which was a second religion in Greece.



THE INTERMENT.<sup>2</sup>

The dead are divided into two classes, according as the funeral rites have been fulfilled or neglected.<sup>3</sup> Those who had perished by shipwreck, or had been slain in battle, and were left to the dogs and the vultures; the criminal, the traitor, whose dead body had been thrown outside the boundaries,—all those, in a word, who had not received, or to whom their kindred had not continued, funereal honors,<sup>4</sup> wander forever, like the souls driven about by a perpetual

<sup>1</sup> Euripides, *Hippol.*, 1437: . . . ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ θέμις φθιτοῦς δρᾶν.

<sup>2</sup> Painting on a white lecyth of Athens, from A. Dumont and Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, vol. i., pl. xxvii.-xxviii. The winged Genii of Sleep and Death support the body of a young woman, and are about to lay it in a tomb at the foot of a stela ornamented with palm-leaves and foliage. An ephebos, wearing a petasos and a chlamys, looks on, raising his left hand to his head. This is a kinsman of the dead person. For analogous representations, see E. Pothier, *Études sur les lécythes blancs attiques à représentations funéraires*, ch. ii.

<sup>3</sup> This is what an old writer calls τὴν ἀτύμεικτον ὕβριν (Onosander, *Strategic.*, c. 36).

<sup>4</sup> The engraving opposite represents a funeral procession, from a plaque of terra-cotta.



FUNERAL PROCESSION.



whirlwind in Dante's *Purgatorio*;<sup>1</sup> or, angry and rendered malicious by their misfortune, they send disease into families, sterility into the land, and spread terror among the living, while they fill the night with sinister cries and threatening apparitions.

A story of the propitiation of an angry ghost is told by Pausanias and Strabo. Odysseus, on his travels, after the capture of Troy, came into Italy; and here, at Temesa, one of his companions, being at the time intoxicated, had committed an act of violence. The inhabitants in their indignation stoned the offender to death; and Odysseus, doing nothing to avenge the murder or appease the manes of his companion, had returned to his vessel and sailed away. From this time the wrathful ghost never ceased to torment the people of Temesa, causing the death of many, until they were about to abandon their city; appealing to the Pythia for advice, they were forbidden to go away, and ordered to appease the hero by building him a shrine in a grove of wild olive-trees set apart for the purpose, and annually giving him as a wife the handsomest girl in the city. After some time Euthymos, who had been a victor at the Olympic games, chanced to arrive at Temesa on the day when this annual offering to the ghost was made. He was led by curiosity to visit the shrine, where, beholding the maiden, he was moved with pity, and then

taken from a tomb in the Peiræus, now in the Collection Belon at Rouen. Here we see the transportation of the dead to the place of sepulture (*ἐκφορά*). The corpse, with uncovered head, the body wrapped in a mantle, lies upon the bier on which it had been exposed to view the preceding day (see p. 307). The bier itself is placed upon a cart, to which are attached two horses; the wheels are of the most antique pattern, having crossbars instead of spokes. The persons who legally make part of a funeral train walk before, on both sides, and behind the cart: first, the wife, the *ἐγγυρπίστρια*, bearing on her head the vase (*χυρπίς*) for libations; then two female relatives, clad, like the *enchytristria*, in the most solemn dress, — two tunics superposed and an *himation*. These persons, with hair unbound, join their gestures of grief to the funereal lamentation. Two young men in war costume, perhaps sons, follow, and seem, like the *μυρολόγισαι* of modern Greece, to question the dead and reproach him for deserting his family. The procession ends with the player of the double flute, whose duty it is to accompany, with the most mournful sounds, the lament chanted by the family (*Catalogue de la collection d'antiquités grecques de M. O. Rayet*, No. 26).

<sup>1</sup> In a fragment of Pindar we read: "Under the vault of the sky and around the earth fly the souls of the wicked, suffering cruel pangs, in the grasp of woes that cannot be ended. But, inhabitants of celestial regions, the souls of the good sing in harmonious hymns to the great blessed one (Zeus)" (Villemain, *Essai sur le génie de Pindare*, p. 25). We find in the Roman imperial law, in the *Code*, ix., 19, 6, and *Novelle LX. in Prooemio*, the trace of an ancient custom of which no texts make mention, either in the Republic or in the Greek epoch; namely, the right of the creditor to prevent his debtor receiving funeral honors. This vengeance against a dead person seems to arise from old beliefs which deprived the guilty of sepulture.

with love. The young girl, on her part, promised that she would marry him if he saved her, and Euthymos, arming himself, awaited the approach of the ghost. In the fight that ensued, he was victorious, and the defeated shade left the country, plunged into the sea, and was never seen again. The people of the country greatly rejoiced, and the marriage of Euthymos was celebrated with much splendor.<sup>1</sup>

To save themselves from this anger of dead men who had been deprived of rites of sepulture, the Greeks made a stipulation in their national law that burial should always be given by the victor to those of the vanquished who fell in battle, except in wars against men guilty of sacrilege, whom the earth itself would not be willing to receive. Custom also made it imperative for any man finding a corpse upon the highway to cover it with earth;<sup>2</sup> severe laws punished the violation of sepulchres, and one of the conditions required in Athens for attaining the archon's office was to have a family tomb where annual sacrifices were offered to the gods.<sup>3</sup> This anxiety to make sure of a last dwelling was so keen that we find Hektor, at the point of death, supplicating Achilles not to deprive him of funereal rites; and Aristophanes shows us the poorest men laying aside an obolos daily to obtain the necessary sum for the purchase of a bier.<sup>4</sup> A terrible proof of the strength of this feeling was the fate of the Spartan generals conquered at the Arginousai; another, of the opposite kind, is the solemnity which, six hundred years after the battle of Plataia, was observed at the tombs of those who had bought with their lives the deliverance of Greece,—a

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi. 6, 7-11; Strabo, vi.; Suidas, s. v. Εὐθύμος; Aelianus, *Hist. var.*, viii. 18. See *History of Rome* (vol. iv. p. 445), in the reign of Tiberius, the account of the matron given up by the priests of Isis to the god Anubis.

<sup>2</sup> The *Antigone* of Sophocles is the conspicuous demonstration of this idea, and the punishment of the Spartan generals defeated in the naval engagement off the Arginousai (see Chapter XXVI.) was its fearful consecration. (Cf. Aelianus, *Hist. var.*, v. 14.)

<sup>3</sup> See, in Chapter XIX., the third question addressed to the candidates at the Areopagos, in the *δοκιμασία*, or examination.

<sup>4</sup> "The money that should buy my shroud, the fine takes from me," says a character in the *Acharnians*. A king of Commagene, probably Antiochos I., who reigned in the time of Lucullus, erected on a summit of the Tauros a colossal monument to contain his tomb, where, twice a year, festivals should be celebrated, as we learn from a long inscription discovered by Sester, published by the Academy of Berlin, and translated into French by Hamdy Bey and Osgan Effendi. (*Le Tumulus de Nimroud-lagh*, pp. xiv-xvii. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* of 1884, p. 271.)

funereal repast was offered them as it would have been on the day after the victory.<sup>1</sup>

If the dead, buried with their garments,<sup>2</sup> their weapons, and all that had been valuable to them,<sup>3</sup> were on the day of the funeral and on anniversaries honored by sacrifices and a funereal repast,<sup>4</sup> if libations of milk and wine, poured around the tomb, had penetrated to their greedy lips, they became the protectors of the relatives and friends whom they had left on earth.<sup>5</sup> They were venerated as beneficent daimons, prayers were addressed to them, and they were believed to be helpful in times of grief or misfortune. "O my father!" cries Elektra at the

It mentions that, if men neglect the prescribed rites, Nemesis will punish with inevitable penalties any disregard of the law concerning the manes. The worship of ancestors was in full vigor then in Asiatic Greece at the time when Lucullus and Cæsar abandoned it in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> The following is Plutarch's account (*Aristeides*, 21): "On the sixth day of the month Memakterion (part of October and November), at break of day a procession is formed. At its head a trumpeter sounds a warlike measure; then follow chariots loaded with myrtle and wreaths, a black bull, and young men carrying amphoras full of milk and wine for funereal libations, or vases of oil and perfumes. They are all of free condition, for it is not permitted to any slave to take part in a ceremony in honor of men who died for liberty. At the end of the train walks the archon of Plataia. On all other days he is forbidden to touch a weapon and is clad in a white garment; but on this occasion he wears a sword and a purple tunic, and he carries a vase which he fills at the public fountain, and then goes to the tombs. He washes their columns, rubs them with myrrh, slays the bull upon the altar, and, addressing a prayer to Zeus and Hermes Psychopompos, he summons to the feast and to the blood-shedding the brave men who died for the safety of Greece. Lastly, he fills a cup with wine and milk, and pours it out, saying: 'I offer this cup to the warriors who died for the safety of Greece.' And this is the ceremony observed to this day among the Plataians."

<sup>2</sup> Solon forbade burying more than three garments with a dead person (Plutarch, *Solon*, xxix.). Cf. the inscription of Iulis in the Island of Keos, relative to funerals, and the commentary of R. Dareste upon this law in the *Nouvelle Revue de Législation*, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 305. A tomb found in the little Island of Chelidromeia, one of the Sporades, contained a skeleton, two little cups, two copper coins, a bronze mirror, vases of terra-cotta for water and oil, and even a clay lamp, — almost everything required for household uses.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 308. E. Pothier and S. Reinach, who in 1881 examined many thousand tombs at Myrina, came to the conclusion that "the furnishing of the tomb with domestic utensils is explained by one and the same religious idea in every case; namely, that of securing to the dead in his underground existence the possession or the presence of the familiar objects which had surrounded him in life" (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, March, 1885, p. 166). At Athens the general festival of the dead was observed each year in the month Anthesterion, nearly corresponding to our February.

<sup>5</sup> Elektra, in the *Libation-Pourers*, pp. 149 and 164, at the tomb of Agamemnon says: "Receive these libations;" and after the funeral chant she adds: "The gifts the earth has drunk, my father has them." See in the *Odyssey*, x. 504-540, by what means, — libations and the blood of victims, — Odysseus succeeds in making the dead speak. In a temple of the Macedonian epoch at Samothrace, near the altar, was an excavation prepared to receive the libation and the blood of victims poured into the ground to propitiate the infernal deities.

tomb of Agamemnon, "hear the grief of thy children!" And later:—

"I, too, from out my father's house will bring  
Libations from my own inheritance  
As marriage offerings. Chief and first of all  
Will I do honor to this sepulchre!"

Plato held in respect this old belief in beneficent genii. "According to our most ancient traditions," he says, "it is incontestable that the souls of the dead still take some part



OFFERING AT A TOMB.<sup>1</sup>

in human affairs.”<sup>2</sup> But they refuse to reply if, at the funeral, everything has not been done according to the prescribed forms. Periander, whose wife, Melissa, had died, seeks to consult her in respect to a treasure. The dead woman refuses to answer. “I am cold,” she says, “I am naked; the garments buried with me

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a white lecyth of Athens, in the Louvre. At the right and left of the stela stand two men: one, aged, bearded, leans upon a staff; the other, an ephebe, holds two lances in the left hand, and on the right a little bird which he has brought to offer to the dead person. Both turn towards a figure seated on the steps of the stela, a lyre in his hand. This is none other than the dead person, whose soul at the same time is represented in the form of a tiny *εἰδωλον*, which is hovering around the stela. A mirror hung up at the right, a perfume box, and the lower part of a shield and of a sword at the left, represent other offerings brought to the tomb. Cf. Pothier, *Études sur les lécythes blancs*, etc., pl. iv. and pp. 51 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Book xi. of the *Laws*, vol. ii. p. 471 (ed. Didot).

OFFERINGS TO DEAD HEROES.<sup>1</sup>

in the earth, not having been burned, profit me nothing." This usage was ancient; it is mentioned by Homer. Nor was there

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief discovered at Chrysapha, in Lakonia, now in the Museum of Berlin, from a cast in the Trocadéro. — A dead man and woman are seated on a throne, behind which rises a serpent, one of the attributes of "the hero." The man presents front face; he has a cup in the right hand, and advances the left hand. The woman is seen in profile; she holds in the right



anything more extraordinary for the Greeks in these libations made to the dead, and food deposited at the tomb, than in the smoke of sacrifices sent to the gods to feed them.<sup>1</sup>

With time and advancing thought, especially as a result of the Mysteries,<sup>2</sup> in which promises of future blessedness are made to the initiated, the dark dwelling was lighted up. Homer accords to the dead only a sad condition. Aristophanes and Plutarch beheld them leading their life in the other world most gayly, in brilliant light and the purest atmosphere, amid games and dances and choral singing.<sup>3</sup> To these material gratifications, which suggest those of the Fortunate Isles, Pindar adds that which would be to us the supreme recompense, "a knowledge of the beginning and end of life,"<sup>4</sup> or complete wisdom and all intellectual delights. The *Phaido* gives even, to the initiated, that is to say to the elect, "the contemplation of the gods, in whom they shall live and dwell." And even more than this: "When you have laid aside your mortal garments," say the *Golden Verses*, "you shall rise in the free air and become an incorruptible divinity." Death sometimes encroached upon divine rights; a tomb where two children had been buried represented them under the aspect of Artemis and Apollo.<sup>5</sup> Another gave to the dead person the features of the goddess Hope, with the attributes of Aphrodite and Fortune.<sup>6</sup> The epitaph of a Greek youth consists of words no longer the imaginative utterances of poet or philosopher: "Weep not for me, my mother; why should you? Worship me rather, for I am now the divine star

hand a pomegranate, and in the left the edge of her veil. In front of the apotheosized couple are a man and woman bringing offerings; in the right hand the man has a cock, the woman a flower: in the left hand each holds a pomegranate.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, v. 92; *Iliad*, xxii. 512. Was it the same idea which led the Plataians to consecrate annually, with the usual ceremonies, garments at the tombs of the Greeks killed in the great battle (Thucydides, iii. 58), and the Roman colonies through which Agrippina passed bearing the ashes of Germanicus, to burn in his honor vestments and perfumes?

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XV. The Mysteries are of recent date; there is no trace of them in Homer or Hesiod.

<sup>3</sup> Aristophanes, *The Frogs*, 324; Plutarch, in the treatise "Ὅτι οὐδὲ ζῆν ἔστιν ἡδέως κατ' Ἐπίχουρον," vol. iv. But it is the initiated only that Aristophanes represents as dancing at the approach of Dionysos, which does not prove that the sceptical poet believed in his own words.

<sup>4</sup> *Fragm.*, p. 114 (ed. Bergk).

<sup>5</sup> Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Wilmanns, No. 240; Orelli, 4.585.

which appears in the early evening.”<sup>1</sup> In the fourth century of the Christian era, eminent pagans believed that the souls of the just ascended to heaven to enjoy an eternal abode among the stars.<sup>2</sup>

The Greeks had intrusted to a divinity, Hermes Psychopompos,<sup>3</sup> the duty of conducting souls to the Elysian Fields; and by the right to assist and to chastise which they recognized as belonging to the dead, the latter seemed to participate in divine attributes: they became the auxiliaries of the chthonian deities, and were called gods. In the last days of polytheism, Cicero gravely wrote: “It has been established by our ancestors that departed men are among the number of the gods: render, therefore, to the Manes that which is their due; venerate them as divine beings.” And he himself designed to consecrate a temple to his daughter Tullia. All Roman tombs bear the invocation, *Diis Manibus*, and very often these words, *Sit tibi terra levis*, or, better still, *Ave et vale*.<sup>4</sup> Not many years ago, in some of the French provinces, it was customary at the funeral repast to drink to the health “of the poor corpse.”

Compare the words that Homer gives to the shade of Achilles with those spoken by the dying Julian,<sup>5</sup> and you will see that Hellenism, in somewhat idealizing death, closely approaches the confines of Christianity.

The worship of the dead, which was practised only on anniversaries, was the exterior part of the domestic religion; the worship of the hearth was its inner and secret portion, and was performed at every hour of the day.

Souvenirs of the ancient East which the Greeks unconsciously preserved had led them to the worship of fire. One of their oldest legends showed Prometheus stealing from heaven this primordial power of Nature, which gives man a strength almost equal to that of the gods. A spark of this fire shone night and day

<sup>1</sup> Inscription of the second century B. C., found in the Island of Amorgos (*C. R. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1884, p. 520).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *History of Rome*, vii. 385, 469.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, book xxix., *initio*. See the engraving on p. 398.

<sup>4</sup> The formula, *Sit tibi terra levis*, occurs in the *Alkestis* of Euripides; *κούφα σοι χθών ἐπάνωθε πείσοι*.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Rome*, viii. 222.



HERMES PSYCHOPOMPOS LEADING MYRRHINA INTO HADES.<sup>1</sup>

on the hearthstone of every house; but this was purer than the fire that renders metal flexible, for it represented Hestia, the virgin goddess and the elder sister of Zeus. The image identi-

<sup>1</sup> Relief on a funereal vase of marble, discovered at Athens, from a cast in the Museum of the Trocadéro. Hermes, recognizable by his winged feet, leads away Myrrhina (MYPPINH). The god turns towards the young woman, whose sad and reluctant step contrasts with the alert movement of Hermes. The whole graceful figure of Myrrhina, the slowness of her step and the bent head, betray profound grief. Gathered for the last adieu, her relatives are present at this scene; they are in the background, and the dead woman rises above them with her lofty stature. For the last time the figure of Myrrhina, grown taller since her death, passes before their eyes. (Cf. O. Benndorf, *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäolog. Institutes in Athen*, vol. iv. (1879) p. 183; F. Ravaisson, *Gazette archéologique*, vol. i. (1875) p. 21.

fyng itself with the being imaged, this fire was Hestia herself, the guardian of the house, the protectress of the family. Before her no words were to be spoken that the chaste goddess should not hear, nor aught done which she should not see. The father, sole priest of the domestic worship, gave her the first-fruits from every repast; he poured for her libations of wine and oil, and as the flame fed by this offering blazed up higher, the goddess filled the house with her purifying light.

PROMETHEUS.<sup>1</sup>

She was associated with all family joys. On the fifth day after the birth of a child, the nurse, carrying the infant in her arms, and followed by all the family, thrice made the circuit of the hearth (*ἀμφιδρόμια*). Here, at the altar of Hestia, the child made his real entrance into life, for from this day forth the father no longer had the right to abandon his son.<sup>2</sup> Thither also came the slave newly received into the house. He sat down, and upon his head were laid dry figs, dates, and cakes, which he shared with his companions in slavery.<sup>3</sup> Hestia gave them a holiday.

The Greeks and Romans ate no meal without sacrifice,<sup>4</sup> as Christians eat none without prayer. The altar of this domestic cult was the hearth; and as in these minds, where brilliant lights and thick shadows were side by side, the religious sentiment did not distinguish the reality from the poetic fiction, the hearth became a sacred object,—a divine being. To it the dying Alkestis addresses her last prayers, and on his joyous return from Troy Agamemnon offers his first salutation. To the Hearth the pious woman of Megara intrusts the bones of Phokion until they can be restored to the tomb of his ancestors. In the description of a banquet we read: “In the centre of the hall is an altar heaped with flowers; the house is filled with joyful acclamations. First they honor the divinity with chaste words and libations and prayers, asking him to aid them to live virtuously.”<sup>5</sup>

This family religion had even a political sanction: it was one

<sup>1</sup> Prometheus, half-draped, extends his hand to steal the fire from the altar of Zeus; above the altar is a butterfly, symbol of the soul. (Engraved cornelian in the *Cabinet de France*, 13 milim. by 19; No. 1.709 of the Catalogue.)

<sup>2</sup> The Romans had a similar law; see *History of Rome*, v. 518.

<sup>3</sup> Scholia of Aristophanes, *Ploutos*, 768.

<sup>4</sup> Athenæus, *Deipnosophists*, v. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Xenophanes, *ap. Bergk, op. cit.*, p. 356.

of the conditions of complete citizenship. A man who had lost his property, and hence had neither hereditary hearth nor ancestral tombs, could not aspire to public office, even where choice among the candidates was made by lot. He seemed one abandoned by the gods, and became, as it were, a foreigner in his native land.

The city, or the magnified family, had its public hearth, and every league possessed a central gathering place of the same nature, those of Delphi and Olympia appertaining to entire Greece. The sacrifices even for the most honored gods never began without first a prayer and a libation at the altar of Hestia. After the expulsion of the Median invader, the Pythia ordered that, in all the *prytaneia*, the fire, which the presence of barbarians had polluted, should be extinguished, and rekindled from the national altar at Delphi.<sup>1</sup> At Sparta it was the custom to carry in front of the army "the sacred, inextinguishable fire," so that on all occasions on entering the enemy's country, and at the moment of giving battle, the king might offer a sacrifice, and discern favorable or unfavorable signs.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, on the departure of a colony the emigrants carried with them fire taken from the national hearth, and from this fire lighted all the new altars.

As in the house Hestia presided at the family repast, she presided in the *prytaneia* at the repasts of the *prytaneis* and of citizens who had obtained by public decree the honor of being fed at the public expense. Among certain peoples there were established common tables. These fraternal love-feasts (a necessity of the early days) were a religious as well as a political act,—a communion with the gods and with the city which gave to patriotism a singular energy.<sup>3</sup> To the old poets, the city is the place where the sacrifices to the gods are made.<sup>4</sup>

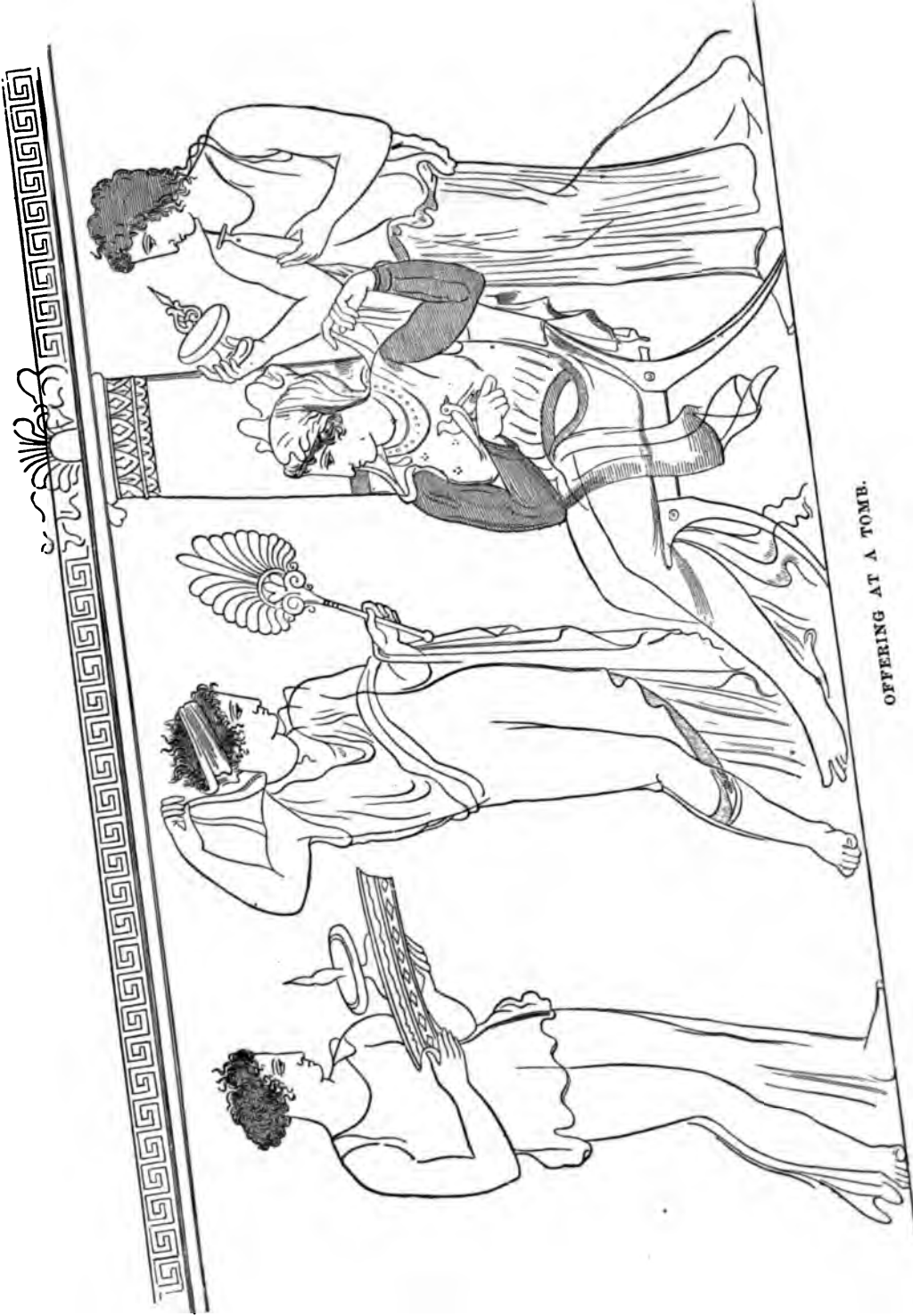
<sup>1</sup> The volcanic character of Greece and the Greek islands had given rise to the idea of a central fire. Accordingly it was in the centre of a circular hall that the public hearth was placed in the Greek *prytaneia*, and, at Rome, the altar where the vestal fire burned perpetually.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *The Republic of Sparta*, xiii.

<sup>3</sup> See Aristotle, *Polit.*, vii. 11, and in book iii. of the *Odyssey*, *initio*, the nine long tables set for the people of Pylos, sharing with their god Poseidon the sacrifice of bulls which had been offered him. The philosopher Xenophanes recommends that every meal be followed by a prayer to the gods for wisdom.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey*, v. 101.

NOTE. — The illustration facing this page represents a painting on a white lecyth of Athens, from Dumont and Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, vol. i. pl. 25, 26.



OFFERING AT A TOMB.



Hestia, "the hallowed and beloved"<sup>1</sup> goddess, had another privilege: her altar was an inviolable asylum. At the moment of the final assault Priam takes shelter at his hearth. "Thy weapons," says Hekabe to the old king, "will not avail thee, but this altar shall protect us." Themistokles, threatened with death, takes shelter with his enemy, the king of the Molossians. Returning into his palace, the king finds the exile seated at the royal hearth: he refuses to deliver him up, and saves his life. At Rome the vestal virgins even set free the malefactor on his way to punishment if they met him by chance, it being believed the goddess had so directed their steps on the occasion.

The Græco-Latin society rested on a double base,—the hearthstone, and the tombstone. Around the one was formed the family, under the moral and religious authority of the father; around the other centred the veneration for ancestors and the hereditary cult.

We Latin races have retained this cult of the dead. May it always continue, and thus keep in men's minds the moral tie which ought to unite the generations which are passing away with those which are coming, since there is between them a close solidarity in the matter of errors committed and expiations which cannot be escaped!



HESTIA (VESTA).<sup>2</sup>

The dead woman, seated before her stela, and holding on her hand two little birds, receives presents from her surviving relatives.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Homeric Hymns*, xxii. and xxvii., and the *Orphic Hymn*, lxxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Marble statue, called the *Vesta Giustiniani*, in the Collection Torlonia at Rome. The goddess held a sceptre in the left hand. The head is covered with a veil; the body is concealed by a garment with folds heavy and regular as the grooves of a column. The sculptor has succeeded in giving to this beautiful figure the gravity and chastity becoming to the virgin goddess, the guardian of the hearth.



Frequently, however, out of good comes evil. The ancient and pious custom of honoring the dead as divine beings led the Greeks, and after them the Romans, to decree apotheosis to rulers. To us this is justly odious; but to contemporaries it meant no more than canonization means to the Church of Rome. A failure to recognize a belief piously rooted in the human heart for centuries has been the cause of the many declamations against the honors rendered to the *divi Augusti*.<sup>1</sup>

## VI. — RELIGIOUS MORALS.

IN all religions, even the best, morals have been, to most believers, nothing more than external piety,—an observance of rites. Greek polytheism, subjecting divine beings to all human weaknesses, representing them as jealous, vindictive, cruel, would have had little moral influence, had not these Olympians, so busy with their pleasures, their passions, and their revenges, been also, in the popular thought, by a happy contradiction, the vigilant guardians of justice. They were believed to watch over the sacred-

<sup>1</sup> See *History of Rome*, vol. iv. pp. 164 and 291.

NOTE.—The engraving on p. 405 reproduces a painting on a vase in the Museum of Naples (Heydemann, *Catalogue*, No. 2,422, p. 298), from the *Museo Borbonico*, vol. xiv. pl. xli-xliii., and Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, pp. 287 and 289. Around the Palladion and the altar of Zeus Herkeios are grouped the most dramatic scenes of the *Illioupersis*, or, Destruction of Troy. 1. In the centre, seated upon the altar of Zeus Herkeios, is the aged Priam. Already wounded in the head and in the right shoulder, he supports his head upon his hands; on his knees lies the corpse of Astyanax; at his feet, that of Polites. Neoptolemos, with lifted sword, is about to murder the old man, whom he has seized by the shoulder. Behind Neoptolemos, a Greek, on his knees, defends himself against Andromache, who is about to strike him with a heavy club. 2. Behind the altar, at the foot of a palm-tree, sits a Trojan woman who has taken refuge at the Palladion. The statue, of archaic form (*ξόανον*), stands upon a base; the goddess wears the helmet, carries the buckler, and brandishes the lance, seeming to take part in the combat. Behind the Palladion is seated a Trojan woman; before it kneels Cassandra, who clings to it with the left hand, and extends the right in supplication to Ajax, who has already grasped her by the head; at the feet of Ajax, Koroibos lies dead. 3. Two less violent scenes at the right and left complete this singularly arranged composition. At the left, Aineias flees, carrying on his back his father, Anchises, and accompanied by his son Askagnos. Aineias only is armed; the three are all looking back towards the city they leave behind. 4. At the right, the descendants of Theseus are represented recognizing their ancestress Aithra, seated behind Andromache. A seated figure, smaller than any of the others, represents Helen, who is weeping at sight of the misfortunes she has caused.



DEATH OF PRIAM AND CAPTURE OF KASSANDRA.



ness of oaths, and their altars were the asylums of suppliants. Gloomy and inexorable ministers of celestial displeasure, the Erinyes (Furies) followed the guilty man, living or dead. Their hair twined with serpents, a scourge made of vipers in one hand, a torch in the other, they brought terror to his soul and torture to his heart. The ignorant or impious person entering their temple was at once seized with furious madness. When the old men of Kolonos are obliged to approach

“The holy grove, by foot of man untrod,  
Where dwell the Virgin Ones invincible,”

where, driven by Destiny, Oidipous has taken refuge, they advance, says Sophokles, “voiceless and speechless, daring not to raise their eyes,” and addressing a silent prayer to the goddesses who were called the Eumenides, or Benevolent Ones, in order to avoid uttering their true and terrible name.

Formidable deifications of remorse, and guardians of justice in the family and in the State, the Erinyes were the more necessary, as moral sanctions, to this religion, because it had at first very little to say about a future life. To certain dead criminals, Sisyphos, Tantalos, Ixion, the Danaïdes, there were indeed punishments; but how sterile was the brilliant imagination of the Greeks, even that of Homer, when the joys of the Elysian Fields were to be described!

Nor is any more light thrown upon the other world by Hesiod. His poem entitled *Works and Days* is of very pure morality; in it vice is punished and virtue rewarded,—but upon the earth. Concerning a future life he has nothing to say, except in a few lines concerning the heroes of the Fourth Age, who “dwell with careless spirit in the Isles of the Blest, beside deep-eddying Ocean, for whom thrice in a year the fertile soil bears blooming fruits as sweet as honey.” This is better than the Hades of the Chian poet; but how melancholy the life, how much is lacking in this languid existence, destitute of all that makes the charm of ours,—effort in action or in thought! Two or three centuries later, Pindar grants to the dead a little more than this, sending to them a gleam of human glory: “Speed now to the black-walled abode of Persephone. Echo, bearing to the conqueror’s father the glorious tidings; telling Cleiodamos that his son, in the vales of renowned Pisa, hath

crowned his youthful hair with the wreaths of famous contests!"<sup>1</sup> And elsewhere: "The dead, too, have their share in the praise paid with customary honors; and the dust does not hide the illustrious glory of their kindred."<sup>2</sup>

This religion, a reflection of the ancient social condition, is parsimonious as to immortality, promising it only to heroes; as for the crowd, they have nothing to expect but the good and evil of this world. Those who are seen to be rewarded or punished in Hades, are, like Tantalos and Sisypheos, kings who have offended the gods, or chiefs to whom their birth and famous exploits have secured the privilege of tasting the sad pleasures of a second existence. Pindar admits to his Elysian Fields only the mighty or the victorious who have in their veins a trace of divine blood, and he cares no more than does Homer for the feeble and the humble. The persistent character of this sentiment explains the long duration of the power of the Eupatrids, descendants of gods or heroes, and the violence of the strife which broke out between the two parties called by Theognis "the Good" and "the Bad." In speaking thus, the aristocratic poet of Megara used the language of anger and party strife; but in the Hellas of ancient days a contrary sentiment prevailed, that which is formed naturally in barbaric communities where, public authority being feeble, the union in the tribe must be strong. A tie of solidarity at that time attached among themselves the members of a family and of a State. It was believed that the sons were punished or recompensed to the third generation for the faults or virtues of their fathers, peoples for their kings, kings for their peoples; that an individual crime might bring down famine or pestilence, or that piety would avert the same,—a valu-

<sup>1</sup> *Olympic Odes*, xiv. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 101.

NOTE.—The illustration facing this page represents a vase-painting from the *Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. xlii. (1884) pl. xviii. In the centre of the scene, between Hades at the right and an Erinys at the left, is seated Persephone. The god leans upon his sceptre; the Erinys bears two torches, and behind her is a panther. These three figures all look towards the left, where stand Orpheus and Eurydike. The singer wears a Phrygian cap, and holds in his hand his lyre; he has obtained from the gods the return of Eurydike, and has grasped her arm to lead her back to the light of day. Near him hovers a small winged genius, both arms extended as if to embrace him. On the right of the central group are Dike and Peirithoös: the latter chained to a rock for his attempt upon Kora. The goddess of justice, whose name is known to us by an inscription on a fragment of a vase which bears a similar representation, watches and guards, sword in hand, the guilty hero. (Cf. a picture of Polygnotos, described by Pausanias, x. 298.)





able belief, in lack of a more energetic principle of action, and a powerful means of control in the family or State. The history of the Alkmaionidai will show its political importance.

Homer says : —

“ When Zeus gives vent to his wrath against men who by violence decree perverse judgments in the assembly, not regarding the vengeance of the gods, all their rivers are flooded as they flow, and the torrents sever asunder many mountains, and, flowing headlong into the dark sea, roar mightily, and the husbandry works of men are diminished.”<sup>1</sup>

And Hesiod, in still more expressive words, says : —

“ Do thou, Perses, hear the right, nor help on wrong. . . . A resistless course is that of Justice, . . . she follows, clad in mist, bringing ill on men who have driven her out, and dispense not a fair decision. But whoso give fair judgments to strangers and citizens, and do not overstep aught of justice, for them a city blooms and her people flourish within her; peace rears her young men through the land, nor ever to them does wide-seeing Zeus ordain troublous war; nor ever does famine or ruin consort with men who judge the right, but in festivals they enjoy the fruit of carefully tended works. For them earth bears much substance: on the mountains, the oak at their top yields acorns, and midway, bees; the woolly sheep are weighed down with fleeces; women bear children like their fathers: in blessings they abound, nor ever travel they on board ship, but the fertile field yields its increase. But they who take pleasure in evil, in wrong and wicked deeds, to them wide-seeing Zeus, the son of Kronos, destines punishment. Oft hath even a whole city reaped the fruit of a bad man who sins, and puts in practice deeds of madness. On them then from heaven the son of Kronos is wont to bring great calamity, famine, and pestilence at the same time, and so the peoples waste away; . . . at other times again he either destroys their wide army, or he lays low their walls, or in the deep he punishes their ships. . . . On the many-nurturing earth are thrice ten thousand immortals, watchers of Zeus over mortal men, . . . clad in misty darkness, and haunting everywhere over the earth. And the virgin daughter of Zeus, Justice, is also a watcher, illustrious and venerable, with the gods who occupy Olympus.”<sup>2</sup>

The same thought recurs three centuries later in Aischylos<sup>3</sup> and in Herodotos.<sup>4</sup> The Pythia, consulted as to the return of a

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xvi. 385 *et seq.*; and he represents all the misfortunes of the Greeks before Troy as punishments for the faults or impiety of the chiefs.

<sup>2</sup> *Works and Days*, 225.

<sup>3</sup> *The Seven against Thebes*, v. 377 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> VI. lxxxvi.



deposit, made reply: "There is a nameless son of Perjury who has neither hands nor feet; he pursues swiftly, until, having seized, he destroys the whole race and all the house. But the race of a man who keeps his oath is afterwards more blessed."<sup>1</sup> All the dramatic poetry of Athens shows the crime followed by the expiation. "Justice," exclaims Solon,<sup>2</sup> "always triumphs in the end;" in the last days of Hellenism a famous treatise was written by Plutarch *On the Delays of Divine Justice*. If then the Greeks, like the ancient Jews, had but a vague and confused idea of the next world, they believed in divine intervention in the present life; and this belief in personal or hereditary responsibility, its ethical influence being alone considered, rendered the other less necessary, for, honestly and fully accepted, it was enough to show that a tie of close solidarity unites all the members of a civil or natural association. Has not modern science recognized the fact that many things are explained in the individual by moral or physical heredity, and in communities by their past of mistakes or of glory?

When Kreon reproaches Antigone with the violation of his royal order forbidding the performance of funeral rites for Polyneikes, the noble girl replies to the tyrant by invoking "the unwritten laws of Zeus, that know not change."<sup>3</sup> It is the cry of conscience which revolts at iniquity, and this cry the persecuted of all ages have flung in the face of their persecutors.<sup>4</sup> In the most ancient days no man thought of this opposition between the law of Nature and the civil law, whose results indicate the advance of civilization. While still repeating all the scandalous stories current concerning Olympian morals, as if to justify to himself his own like frailties,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See in the *Iliad*, book iii., with what solemnity the Greeks and Trojans swore to the treaty of peace proposed by Agamemnon to Priam. Elsewhere (xix.) Homer speaks of the ills with which the gods will punish the perjurer. Perjury was long regarded as a crime half religious, half civil. Charondas, the legislator of Katana and the Achaian cities of Magna Græcia, introduced into his laws a formal enactment against bearing false witness (Aristotle, *Polit.*, ii. 10 *ad fin.*).

<sup>2</sup> See, later, a long quotation from Solon on this subject.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*, i. 13, 15, quotes these noble words of Sophokles, in establishing a distinction between the special laws of different States and that law of Nature common to the whole human race. Cicero also mentions them particularly in his magnificent definition of natural law. Cf. *History of Rome*, ii. 330.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Rome*, vii. 68.

<sup>5</sup> These adventures shocked no man in a country where the productive forces of Nature

the Greek feared the gods, avengers of injustice, and if they violated an oath taken with solemn imprecations, dreaded the Erinyes, guardians of the moral law, who pursued the perjurer with unremitting vigilance.<sup>1</sup> Even the divinity who failed to keep his

CATARACT OF THE STYX.<sup>2</sup>

promise, after having sworn by the Styx and by the infernal gods, was excluded from Olympus for nine years.<sup>3</sup>

Undoubtedly the cult authorized unclean rites, representations far too naturalistic; and the ethics celebrated by the poets made scandalous concessions to the gods of Greece. Apollo, who will

were adored. A few refined or sincerely religious minds, like Pindar, hesitated to repeat these stories which were to the disadvantage of the gods (cf. *Olymp.*, ix.), and the philosophers condemned them.

<sup>1</sup> In the fourth century B. C. the faith in Nemesis was still held, as appears from the story of the father who killed himself in order to draw down the vengeance of Heaven upon the two Spartans who had outraged and murdered his daughters (Plutarch, *Amator. Narrat.*, chap. iii. p. 945, ed. Didot).

<sup>2</sup> From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod. *Theog.*, 793.

have Klytaimnestra killed by her son, recommends to Orestes the employment of lies and craft against Agamemnon's murderers; and Homer, while he praises Achilles, who "hates a lie as he does the gates of Hades,"<sup>1</sup> also extols for his address in evading difficulties Odysseus, the son of Sisyphos, and, like his father, the great deceiver.

But we must not linger on the too free details of the divine legends. These the poets loved to relate: but the man of moral life respected the chaste Hestia, protectress of his home; Demeter,



ENGRAVED STONE.<sup>3</sup>

or Thesmophora, the law-maker, inspired only serious thoughts; Here watched over the sanctity of marriages, which Aphrodite Ourania adorned with her graces; Artemis commanded purity of morals to youths;<sup>2</sup> Athene gave wisdom; and Zeus appeared, to those who looked at him with the eyes of Pheidias, as the defender of the sacred laws of justice, of filial piety, and of hospitality,—as the guardian of oaths and the avenger of wrong-doing. Uniting

all the attributes given him by the popular faith, philosophy, forgetting the lover of Leda and of Alkmene, will make of Zeus the One God, the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. To conclude,—however vague were the fears and hopes of another world, the certainty that Nemesis kept the gate through which men went to join the dead was sure to exercise a salutary influence. There was, therefore, enough morality in the Hellenic religion for right-minded men to find in it an aid to right living. Unfortunately this class is always in the minority.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, i. 312.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Hippolytos* of Euripides, line 1302, Artemis says of Kypriis that she is hated of all goddesses who love virginity, τῆς ἐχθίστης θεῶν ἡμῖν, ὕσαισι παρθενία ἡδονή.

<sup>3</sup> Odysseus and his dog. From Tischbein, *Homer nach Antiken*, iii.

## VII. — THE PUBLIC CULT.

A DESIRE for the protection of divine beings or of spirits has been everywhere the origin of religious rites. The Greeks, like all other peoples, believed they could appease or persuade their divinities by pious offerings and prayers, by vows and sacrifices,—sometimes, in ancient days, by human sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> The odor of the burning victims upon the altar was to the gods a delicious perfume, for the reason that the sacrifice of a portion of his possessions showed, on the part of the worshipper, a humble and penitent heart, a desire to please by a gift, or to efface a fault by a voluntary expiation. It was also especially welcome because numerous victims offered upon the same altar gratified the pride of the divinity, attesting how great honor was paid him upon earth, and securing his protection. He then permitted his worshippers, as a kindly disposed father would allow his children, to sit down at the feast which was served to him, and to share with him the victim offered in sacrifice. A sacrifice was a sacred repast,—a sort of religious communion between the god, his priests, and the worshippers. The latter, to do him honor, consumed as much as possible of the flesh and the cakes, and of the wine which had been offered in libations. *Μεθύειν*, says Aristotle, in its first meaning signified “to drink after the sacrifice;” pious excesses of this kind, often renewed, brought the word to its meaning, “to become intoxicated.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Krete, children were sacrificed to Kronos. It was believed that Kekrops abolished human sacrifices in Attika; Pausanias, however, relates (i. 5, 2) that one of the Eponymoi, Leos of Athens, sacrificed his two daughters to obey an oracle which had declared the sacrifice necessary for the safety of the State. (See also Euripides, *Ion*, 277–8, and Plutarch, *Pelop.*, 21.) During the First Messenian War the oracle also demands the death of a maiden of the race of Aipyros. (See, later, Chapter VIII.) Men follow the example of the gods whom they have endowed with their own traits. Achilles at the funeral pyre of Patroklos puts to death twelve young Trojans; Themistokles sacrifices three Median prisoners before the battle of Salamis; and Herodotos (vii. 197) speaks of human victims offered in Thessaly. The most famous of these stories is that concerning Iphigeneia.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, ii. 12: “All animals were not to be sacrificed to all gods. Goats could not be offered to Athene, nor swine to Aphroditē; but the hog was sacrificed to Demeter, because this animal injures vegetation, and goats to Dionysos, because they destroy the vines. The

The Roman usage of placing the statues of the gods upon couches, and offering to them a sacred banquet, existed also in



SCENE OF SACRIFICE.<sup>1</sup>

Greece. A great number of bas-reliefs represent this ceremony, and inscriptions mention it.<sup>2</sup>

victims must have attained a prescribed age, and were usually of the sex of the divinity to whom they were offered. White animals were offered to the superior gods; black ones to those of the land and sea" (Salomon Reinach, *Manuel de philologie classique*, i. 263).

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenb.*, pl. clv. In the centre is the altar, on which the fire is not yet lighted. A curved object lies upon the altar, which is perhaps one of the victim's horns. At the left is the person about to sacrifice. He wears a laurel-wreath on his head, raises the left hand in sign of adoration, and holds a cup in the right hand. Nike, the goddess of victory and success, pours into this cup the wine which is to be used in libation. (As to the name of the person about to sacrifice, APXENAYTHS, literally "he who commands the fleet," see Gerhard, *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 21 *et seq.* The German scholar regards this scene as a sacrifice offered by one of the Argonauts.) At the right are two assistants, wearing laurel-wreaths. Each carries a long wand, which serves as a spit, on which are pieces of the flesh of the sacrifice. Lastly, there is a flute-player, also wearing a wreath. The inscription, Σ[ύ]ΣΙΤΟΣ, which has been appropriately derived from Παπάσιτος, indicates that he will share in the sacred repast.

<sup>2</sup> P. Girard, *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, ii. 74. The inventory of furniture belonging to the goddess Here at Samos mentions a table with its cloth, knives, cups, etc. (See below, p. 427, note 4.) The bas-relief reproduced on p. 417 from the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, vol. ii. pl. 62, is set in the wall of the church of Merbaka, near Argos. It is an ex-voto to Asklepios and Hygeia. Asklepios lies upon a couch, at the foot of which Hygeia is seated.



BANQUET AND SACRIFICE.



The most complete, but rarest, sacrifice was the holocaust, where the victim, reserved for the god alone, was entirely consumed; the most solemn was the hecatomb; the most efficacious, that in which the most precious blood was shed, as in the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, the virgin daughter of the "king of men." The poor man, who could not give a living creature, offered little figures of paste, and the sacrifice was not unacceptable. Apollo especially exercised a moral influence over his worshippers. A rich Thessalian sacrifices at Delphi a hundred bulls with gilded horns, while a poor citizen of Hermione comes up to the altar and throws upon it a handful of flour. "Of these two sacrifices," says the Pythia, "the latter is the more agreeable to the god."<sup>2</sup> The philosophers of the later times spoke in the same way, having no respect for the ostentation of costly sacrifices. But before their time Euripides had written: "Some men bring trivial offerings to the temples, and yet are perhaps more religious than those who offer fatted animals." Greece, which in its earliest period believed that only the great could be heard of the gods, in its maturity opened the temples and heaven itself to the poor and insignificant. This moral revolution was the counterpart to that political revolution which gave rights to those who, in the earliest days, had none.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

The offerings must be pure, the victims perfect, the priest must be without personal blemish, the suppliant without an evil thought in his mind; and no man approached an altar without having been purified by water,—a symbol of moral purification. At the entrance to the temple stood a priest, who poured lustral

Both are eating the food that is placed before them on a table, while a servant, who is standing at the right, dips a small vase into the krater, and is about to offer them drink. At the left is the family of suppliants, each with the right hand raised in the attitude of adoration (*προσευχή*). Above the suppliants a horse's head appears in a window. It seems to look into the temple, which is represented by two pilasters surmounted by an architrave. The presence of the horse in these ex-votos has not been satisfactorily explained. On this question, and upon this series of bas-reliefs, see F. G. Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pp. 252 *et seq.*; P. Girard, in the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. ii. (1878), pp. 68 *et seq.*

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of a bronze coin, with the effigy of the Emperor Maximin, struck at Nikomedeia in Bithynia. The couch for the gods is surmounted with palms and crowns; under it are two figures and a great vase. Legend: *NIKOMHΔEΩN NEOKOPΩN*.

<sup>2</sup> Porphyry, *De Abstin.*, ii. 15. In respect to abstinence, more meritorious because more difficult, see Maury, *op. cit.* in chapter vii.



water upon the hands and head of the faithful; sometimes, even, a sort of baptism by immersion was considered necessary.<sup>1</sup> In



COIN OF EPIDAUROS.<sup>2</sup>

all religions, purification is the act essential in approaching a god. "But," says the Pythia, "while a drop of water is enough to purify the upright man, for the wicked all the waters of the ocean do not suffice;" and the priests of Askle-

peios at Epidauros had written upon his temple: "True purity is made by holy thoughts."

To expiate homicide, even if involuntary, solemn purifications are requisite. Legend even imposed it upon Apollo after he had killed the serpent Python and pierced the Cyclops with his arrows. A murderer presents himself at Delphi: the oracle repulses him, and prescribes to him as a public penance to go to Cape Tainaron, and there, in a temple, to undergo expiatory ceremonies. Cities even, to remove a scourge or avert the anger of a god, required purification; thus Athens was purified by Epimenides, and Delos by the Athenians.

A more singular rite was practised at Samothrake, where it was required that, first of all, the worshipper should make confession to the priest.

The same requirement was made at Delphi, — the guilty person must avow his crime to the priest of Apollo, and promise repentance.<sup>4</sup>

In an invocation to Zeus, "dweller in cold Dodona," Achilles speaks of "his interpreters who lie naked upon the earth, nor ever lave their feet in water." But the Greeks scarcely were



APOLLO THE DIVINER.<sup>3</sup>

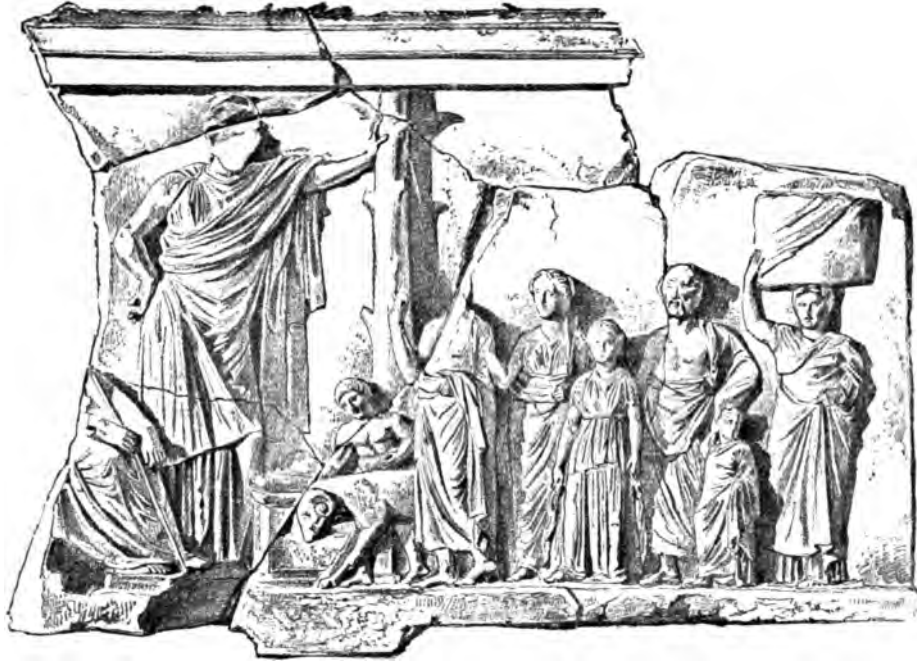
<sup>1</sup> *Anthologie Palatine*, xiv. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Laurelled head of Asklepeios, right profile. Reverse, Asklepeios seated on a throne, facing left, leaning with his left hand upon a long sceptre, and with the right hand feeding a serpent which rears its head in front of him. In the field, the letter E, initial of the word Epidauros; under the throne, a symbol of uncertain import. (Silver coin.)

<sup>3</sup> Reverse of a bronze coin, with the effigy of Gordian the Pious, struck at Patara in Lykia. Apollo, in his character of a diviner, is represented standing, holding an olive-branch; at his left is a tripod over which a serpent rears his head, and at his right a crow perched on a ball.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Lakonika*: *Antalkidas*, iii. 265 (ed. Didot), and *Lysander* (*Ibid.*), p. 282. In the *Religion du Mexique*, by Réville, p. 176, mention is made of the Mexican practice of confession.

acquainted with asceticism, and attributed to it no merit. They were quite willing to pray to the gods and make them offerings. but they did not propose to sacrifice to them the joys of life.<sup>1</sup>



SACRIFICE TO ASKLEPIOS.<sup>1</sup>

These gods, born of the earth, were believed to be in constant communication with men. Signs were incessantly appearing in the air, in the dead bodies of the animals offered in sacrifice. and oracles spoke in all the temples. Two eagles hovering over the assembly that Telemachos had called together in Ithaka, and tearing their necks with their claws, predicted to the suitors the fate that awaited them. The entrails of victims, — where a natural

<sup>1</sup> See, however, above, p. 290, note 3. The Stoicism which came after the time of Plato recommended ascetic practices, and they were ordered by the Christian Church, — a divorce between the soul and body productive of no advantage, whichever of the two principles of the complete life be the one sacrificed; from their union, on the contrary, was to spring, through art and thought, the glorious civilization of Greece.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief discovered in the excavations of the Asklepieion, from a photograph. The scene is in a temple, where the god is seated at the left, and his daughter Hygieia stands near him. The victim is before the altar, and behind it are the family of the suppliants. The last figure in the group bears upon her head a great round basket, which doubtless contained the cakes (*πίττα*) to be burned upon the altar before the victim was slain, and offerings of value. (See *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. ii. (1878) pp. 70 et seq.)

malformation was a fatal sign,—the direction of the flame and smoke of the sacrifice, the flight of birds, those especially which, descending from the upper air, seemed like celestial messengers bringing orders from heaven, the lightning which tore the sky, dreams sent by Zeus, unexpected sounds, accidental meetings with men and animals, words spoken by chance,—for chance was the divine will,—also revealed the future. Diviners interpreted omens, and priests made the gods speak to men.<sup>1</sup> There was then what we may call a continual dialogue between Heaven and Earth. Rationalist though he was and continued to be, the Greek believed himself to have in the oracles a permanent revelation of the divine will. Fortunately, the oracles were interpreted by political sagacity, and the interests of the State did not suffer. Nor did the Hellene bend his intellect, as the Roman did, before all the signs whose meaning the aruspex sought out. Agamemnon is displeased with Kalchas, “prophet of evil, who loves only to predict disaster.” Polydamas, to turn away the Trojans from attacking the vessels of the Greeks, announces to them a fatal omen,—“a high-flying eagle upon the left, dividing the army, bearing in its talons a huge blood-stained serpent still living;” and Hektor rejoins haughtily: “Very little do I regard or care for wing-expanding birds, whether they fly to the right, towards the morning and the sun, or to the left, towards the darkening west; . . . there is one augury the best,—to fight for our country.”<sup>2</sup>

Not to return to this subject again, certain details will be given here, although they are less characteristic of the heroic than of subsequent ages.

The temple in the most ancient days was either a shady grotto where mysterious sounds might be taken for oracles, or a trunk of a tree, which bore, concealed in its thick foliage, a shapeless image of the divinity. Pausanias, in the second century of the Christian era, mentions temples of this kind seen by him.

<sup>1</sup> On divination among the Greeks, see the learned work of M. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divination dans l'antiquité*. I do not give the details of the rites performed in offering sacrifices; they are everywhere to be found. In the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* of Euripides there is a poetic description of them.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xii. 245.

The temple of a later age consisted of an extensive wall, enclosing the sacred ground, and never to be crossed by those who were forbidden to share in the common sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> In the centre of the enclosure, solidly built on a firm foundation, was the real sanctuary, which faced the east; this contained the image of the god and often the images of other gods or of heroes whom the chief divinity consented to receive into his dwelling. Thus in Roman Catholic churches each saint has his special chapel. Near the door was the vase containing lustral water, kept pure by throwing salt into it; in the court, *πρόναος*, or at the foot of the steps leading up to the sanctuary, stood the altar, which was originally a mound of earth or heap of stones, and later a marble table surrounded with garlands of flowers and decorated with bas-reliefs. At Olympia the ashes of the victims were collected every day and kept with care, and at the end of the year washed in water drawn from the river Alpheios; after which they were heaped upon the grand altar, which thus became in the course of years of enormous size. At the time when Pausanias saw it, the base of it had a circumference of one hundred and twenty-five feet, and the altar itself a height of twenty-two feet. The altar of Apollo Spodios at Thebes was also made of the ashes of victims.

On the inner wall of the temples it was usual to suspend the offerings made by individuals, cities, and kings, and many ex-votos, especially in the Asklepions, in gratitude for miraculous cures or unexpected health.<sup>2</sup> Often States or private citizens placed under the protection of the god, beside his own possessions, their property or the public treasure.

Among the most precious objects were relics of heroes: at Olympia, the shoulder-blade of Pelops, touching which, men were cured of a pestilence prevalent at one time in Elis; at Tegea,

<sup>1</sup> Homer mentions only the temple of Athene at Athens, and of Apollo at Delphi (*Odyssey*, viii. 80); but rude sanctuaries of this kind were common everywhere (*Ibid.*, vi. 9).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 417, the bas-relief of Merbaka, which is one of these ex-votos. Cf. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, i. 298. Ex-votos in the temples of Asklepios represent parts of the body which had been healed. See Le Bas, *Inscript. des îles de la mer Égée*, No. 280, p. 208, and, in the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. i. pp. 156-169; vol. ii. p. 66, the curious catalogue of ex-votos recently discovered on the southern slope of the Akropolis of Athens. Two stelas containing the recital of miraculous cures have been exhumed by Carvadios at Epidauros, and translated by S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* (1884), ii. 278; (1885), i. 265. "At Agrigentum," says Cicero, "there is a statue whose mouth and chin have been worn away by the kisses of its worshippers."

the bones of Orestes, which gave victory to the inhabitants as long as they preserved the sacred relics. These having been taken away by the pious fraud of Lichas, the hair of Medousa

MEDOUSA.<sup>2</sup>

remained to the city, and being placed upon its walls, put the enemy to flight; the great toe of Pyrrhos also worked marvels.<sup>1</sup>

The statues of the gods must possess at least as much healing virtue as the relics of heroes. They

had special gifts: one healed diseases of the throat; another, the gout. The statue of Herakles at Erythrai had restored a blind man to sight; at Troïzen, the club of the hero, fallen on the ground, had become a magnificent wild olive-tree. More frequently the statues exuded sweat, moved their arms or their eyes, or brandished their weapons: these were omens of the first importance. In these temples, centres of the popular superstition, everything moved and spoke; there were even periodical miracles: at Andros, on the annual festival of Dionysos, water was changed into wine.

COIN OF ANDROS.<sup>3</sup>

The priests — docile instruments or interested actors in these marvels, at once accomplices in pious frauds and devout believers in the miracles they themselves performed<sup>4</sup> — gained consideration and wealth by causing the gods to speak. They received their share of the victims and a quantity of offerings, — precious objects for the decoration of the temple or the statue of a god, or lands whose revenues accrued to them under the superintendence of a council,<sup>5</sup> and under condition of employing

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Pyrrhos*, iii., and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Head of the Gorgon; reverse, a lion's head. (Attic tetradrachm, very ancient.) Cf. Beulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, pp. 24 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy; behind it, the letter Φ, mint-mark. Reverse: ANΔP. Panther standing, looking to the right. (Silver.)

<sup>4</sup> It has been discovered that, in many temples, a secret passage led to the place where stood the statue of the god; thus, in the temple of Isis at Pompeii, in a temple in Nîmes, etc. The Abbé de Guasco (*De l'usage des statues chez les anciens*, 1768) describes many marvels performed by the statues of the gods, and the means employed in producing them.

<sup>5</sup> ἱερὰ γερουσία (Inscript. of Böckh, Nos. 2,693 c and 2,693 f). See in Chapter XIX. the *klerouchoi* founded by Athens in the fifth century B. C.

these revenues in the maintenance of the sanctuary and in the expenses of the ceremonial. Delphi had domains as extensive as a province. The Athenian Nikias gave on one occasion to the temple of Delos a palm-tree of bronze for the god, and an estate worth 10,000 drachmas for the priests, with the obligation accompanying that the latter should celebrate an annual festival in his honor, and should pray for him,<sup>1</sup> — very suggestive of the foundation of a perpetual mass in the Roman Catholic Church. Diodorus Siculus speaks of a temple whose priests fed three thousand cattle in their fields. Slaves were also given to the gods; they became *hierodouloi*, or servants of the temple; and this condition was better than enfranchisement,<sup>3</sup> for they had little work, good food, and no anxiety as to the future.<sup>4</sup>

OFFERINGS.<sup>2</sup>

Xenophon gives us details of one of these pious foundations. When the Ten Thousand arrived at Kerasous, the booty was divided, reserving a tenth for Apollo and Artemis, of which the generals took charge until it should be offered to the gods. Xenophon divided the money he thus received into two portions: of the one he made an offering to the Delphian Apollo, and deposited it in the treasure-house of the Athenians; with the other he bought, near Skillous, a piece of land which he consecrated to Artemis. "He erected here a temple and an altar, and from that time forward offered perpetually to the goddess a sacrifice and a tithe of the products of her lands. All the citizens of Skillous and the people of the adjacent country, both men and women, take part in the festival. The goddess furnishes to all who come barley flour, bread, wine, fruits, a portion of the victims fattened in the adjacent pastures, and game; for the sons of Xenophon and others had a great hunt preliminary

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Nikias*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Silenos, seated, is playing on the double flute near a palm-tree, behind which, on a column, is the statue of a divinity. A young girl brings offerings, — fruits upon a patera, and wine in a vase. An old woman wearing a veil presents to the god an object which it is difficult to identify, — possibly a garland. (Cameo on sardonyx of two layers, 22 millim. by 27. *Cabinet de France*. Chabouillet, *Catalogue des Camées*, No. 84.)

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, iii. 96. and viii. 63 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo (xii. 535) saw more than ten thousand of these slaves attached to the temple of the goddess Mâ at Komana in Kappadocia.

to this festival, in which all took part who were so inclined. Wild boars, deer, and stags were killed in the domain of the goddess or on Mount Pholoë. In the territory belonging to Artemis are thickets and wooded hills, where can be raised swine, goats, oxen, and horses. The horses of those who come to the festival are abundantly supplied with food. Around the temple itself is an orchard of fruit-trees bearing all kinds of excellent fruit in its season. The temple is a miniature of the one at Ephesos, except that the statue of the goddess is not of gold, but of cypress wood. Near the temple is a column with this inscription: "This land is consecrated to Artemis. Let him who occupies it and gathers its fruits offer a tenth part annually, and with the rest keep the temple in repair; if he neglect this, the goddess will see to it." Among the ancients religion was mingled in all the acts of life; Xenophon, though belonging to an age when there was much scepticism, remained a believer. He begins his *Manual for the Management of Cavalry* with these words: "First of all, it is proper to sacrifice to the gods."

"The altar of the gods," says Euripides, "is the common refuge;"<sup>1</sup> and, at an earlier period, Aischylos wrote in his strong language: —

"Better far than towers  
Are altars, — yea, a shield impenetrable."<sup>2</sup>

The temples of that day, like the churches of mediæval Europe, had the right of asylum. They were indeed closed to the excommunicate, but to the suppliant they stood open. He who wore fillets of wool or green boughs, — signs of misfortune and of appeal to divine protection, — had always a right to lay them upon the altar and sit down near it, under the eye and hand of the divinity. For him the sacred groves, into which the priests only had a right to enter, became an inviolable retreat. In some cases the protection of this asylum followed him on leaving it, and the debtor or the slave who had taken refuge in the sacred enclosure emerged from it leaving, the one his debt, the other his servitude, behind him. "In the temple of the goddess Hebe at Phlious," says Pausanias, "slaves receive entire immunity if they

<sup>1</sup> *The Herakleids*, 260. Rites of hospitality were guarded by Zeus Xenios.

<sup>2</sup> *The Suppliants*, 185.

come as suppliants; and when prisoners are loosed of their fetters, they hang them up on the trees in the grove."<sup>1</sup> In other cases the master was obliged to make a bargain with his slave.

The custom of pious begging was not unknown. For the reconstruction of the temple of Delphi, agents begged throughout Greece, and even in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Many fines were exacted to the profit of the gods; these, with a tithe of the spoils of war, and, in some States, a tithe of the fruits of the earth, went to swell the revenues of the temples; in the fifth century B. C. the temple of Athene at Athens received a sixtieth of the tribute paid by the allies, — about ten talents annually. Thus the temples were often rich enough to act as bankers, furnishing loans at heavy rates of interest.<sup>3</sup> It does not appear, however, that the pagan priesthood ever had for its private use considerable funds, as had the mediæval Church. The priests being, in common life, citizens or magistrates, and pontiffs only at the altar of the gods, the property remained attached to the temple under a secular administration,<sup>4</sup> and served as a

<sup>1</sup> Book ii. chap. xiii. 4. The same was true of the temple of Herakles at Kanopos. From the moment the fugitive slave had received the divine stigmata, he became the servant of the god (Herodotos, ii. 113). On the subject of slavery, see the classic work of Wallon.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotos, v. 62.

<sup>3</sup> An important inscription of the middle of the fifth century B. C., found recently at Eleusis, is a decree of the Athenian people, regulating "κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν ἐκ Δελφῶν," that the Athenians and their allies should offer to the gods at Eleusis one sixth of every hundred bushels of barley gathered, and one twelfth of every hundred of corn. "If any gather annually more or less, let them offer in proportion." The decree adds that the hierophant and the *dadouchos*, at the time of the Mysteries, should invite the other Hellenic cities to send also first-fruits of their harvests, and that the council of Eleusis should have this invitation spread abroad through the whole land. This barley and corn, kept in store-houses, was sold by degrees, and with the proceeds victims were bought for the altar and offerings for the temple. The inscription ends by the announcement of another decree in respect to the first-fruits of oil. It is evident that the temple of Eleusis had a large income, since the first-fruits to which it had a right were more than the tithes paid formerly to the Church; but it had been settled what portion of this revenue should accrue to the priests and priestesses, — a thing never done in churches and convents. Cf. Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. iv. p. 225, and vol. viii. p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> At Athens, the administration of the property of Athene was managed by ten treasurers, elected annually, one from each tribe. They prepared an inventory of the wealth of the temple in gold, silver, precious stuffs, and all that was called the *κόσμος* of the goddess, and gave this in to their successors at a session of the council of the Five Hundred. The most ancient, and frequently most venerated, statues were shapeless objects; these were covered with jewels, tunics, veils, bandelettes, and their toilet, *κόσμησις*, was often changed. Accordingly, the wardrobe of a goddess was very well supplied. The inventory of the temple of Here at Samos is extremely curious and very long. Besides her wardrobe, the goddess had her table-service, *πρόψα*, for the sacred repasts. See Karl Curtius, *Inscriften*, No. 6; Foucart, *Les*



resource for the State in public extremities, instead of becoming the property of a sacerdotal class.

The Greek women, always under guardianship, could not dispose of their property without the authorization of their *κύριος*. An exception appears to have been made in favor of gifts to the gods;<sup>1</sup> and we may be assured that the temples received many.

Certain families, by reason of the legends formed around their names, possessed hereditary priesthoods, those of the gods or heroes regarded as authors of their race, or whose worship they had introduced into the city. But this religious heredity, which in ancient days had given them power, in the historic epoch was merely a source of honor, and freed them from none of the duties of the citizen. Guardians of the divinity, of his temple, of his treasure, and of the traditions of his cult, the priests were only religious functionaries. They guided their fellow-citizens in the performance of the rites, and drove away from the national altar the stranger, who was not permitted to sacrifice to the Poliac divinities.

Thus, at Athens, the priestess would not suffer the Spartan king Kleomenes to enter the temple of Athene. One of the conditions of serving as a priest was to be free from personal blemish,<sup>2</sup> — a rule which passed thence into the Christian Church.

*Clérouques*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.* (1879), pp. 387 et seq. : *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vi. 111, 112. Coins of Samos show that the custom lasted through the Roman Empire of thus arraying the old wooden statue which represented Here. This usage, which exists still



COIN OF SAMOS  
(Cabinet of France).

in India (Monier Williams, *Religious Thought in India*, pp. 144 et seq.), was practised for all the divinities, as it still is in the Roman Catholic Church. Apuleius (*Met.*, xi.) represents Isis having on her head a wreath of flowers and a luminous nimbus, clad in a robe of changing colors, and a black mantle adorned with stars; and inscriptions remain of an *Ornatriz Dianae* (Murat., 104, 4); and, at Nîmes, of an *ornatrix fani* (*Rev. épigr. du midi de la Fr.*, 1885, No. 36, p. 149). It was not the goddess only whom the worshippers adorned with splendid draperies; all around her and above her head were hung rich embroideries. See the curious book of M. de Ronchaud, *La tapisserie dans l'antiquité; le Péplos d'Athéné: la décoration intérieure du Parthénon*, 1884. A sin-

gular meeting of ideas and customs it was when Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, took from the temple of Jerusalem the veil which hid the Holy of Holies and presented it to the Olympian Zeus, as the sultan and the khedive offer annually veils in the sanctuary of Islam (De Sauley, *Hist. de l'art judaïque*, p. 374; Clermont-Ganneau, *The Veil of the Temple of Jerusalem at Olympia*, 1878).

<sup>1</sup> H. Lewy, *De condicione mulierum Graecarum* (1885), pp. 18–22.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *ἀσκληρον* (Plato, in book vi. of the *Laws*, vol. ii. p. 355, ed. Didot). This rule was general. See Foucart, *Inscr. inédite de l'île de Rhodes*, No. 60; Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscr. d'Asie Mineure*, No. 339; O. Rayet, *Rev. archéol.* (1874), ii. 106.

Another consequence of this important fact, the absence in Greece of a sacerdotal body, may be noted: there was no more a fixed creed to hamper the philosopher than there was "temporal power of the Church" to hamper the State. The *Credo* having never been put under the jealous care of a class interested in retaining it within a sanctuary, behind gates of brass. Greece became especially the country of free research in the domain of thought.

This clergy, politically so feeble, was nevertheless armed with an important right,—it could exclude the offender from the common sacrifices, and call down upon the impious the curse of the gods. Standing, and looking towards the West, the priest cursed him, shaking his sacerdotal garment, as if rejecting him from the temple and the city.<sup>1</sup> But this excommunication differed from ours in an essential point: the gods being numerous and diversely honored in each city, the condemnation pronounced in their name had not the formidable character of a sentence spoken in the name of the one God, by a universal church, which left no place of refuge to the condemned. The Greek excommunication would at times strike a whole city or a people, caused by other nations



APHRODITE."

<sup>1</sup> Lysias, *Against Andocides*, 50, 51. See in Egger, *Mémoires de littérature ancienne*, the formula of imprecation of the Teians, and in his *Mémoire sur les traités publics*, that of the Amphictyons. See the Amphictyonic curse, which has been preserved to us by Aischines (*Against Ctesiphon*, §§109-113): "If any, whether city, individual, or nation, violate this oath, let that person, nation, or city be accursed as execrable, and worthy of all vengeance of Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athene Pronaia. Let their land bring forth no fruit, let their women bear monsters, and not children like their fathers; let their flocks have no natural increase. Let them be always defeated in war and in courts and in public deliberations; let them be utterly exterminated, they, their families, and their race; let them never sacrifice acceptably to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athene Pronaia, nor these divinities ever receive their sacrifices."

<sup>2</sup> Bronze statuette in the De Luynes Collection of the *Cabinet de France*. The goddess holds an apple in her right hand, and with the left draws back the folds of her garment. On

to be brought under the ban of Greece; then followed long wars, and the atrocious massacres habitual in religious strifes.

For more than a century the Alkmaionidai were exposed to religious vengeance for having refused to spare the friends of Kylon, suppliants to Athene. The people of Phokis were, like the French Albigenses, devoted to extermination; and if Alkibiades had returned into Athens after the priests had excommunicated him, he would have been thrown into the *barathron*.



APHRODITE.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the general traits of Greek polytheism. Notwithstanding the reservations made above concerning the happy influence exercised by certain beliefs, it must be acknowledged that a religion which represents most of the gods as given up to shameful passions, committing theft,<sup>1</sup> incest, adultery, breathing out hatred and vengeance, — divinities who obscured the idea of right, legitimating evil by the example of those who should have been the personification of virtue, — was not pure enough to aid materially in the moral perfecting of the individual. We may even see in it an active cause of the Greek demoralization which developed in later ages.

The basis of polytheism being the worship of the productive forces of Nature, it must always have dangerous rites and images which become unclean, when men seek to represent by material symbols the various conceptions of naturalism.<sup>3</sup> While a few

her head is a high cap adorned with palm-leaves. Cf. *Gaz. archéol.*, vol. v. (1879) pl. 16, and p. 94.

<sup>1</sup> During the festival of Hermes at Samos it was lawful to steal (Plutarch, *Greek Questions*, 55).

<sup>2</sup> Bronze statuette in the De Luynes Collection of the *Cabinet de France*. The goddess wears a gold collar. Cf. *Gaz. archéol.*, vol. i. (1875) p. 33, and pl. cxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> See, in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, the sacrifice of Dikeopolis to Dionysos, v. 245 *et seq.*, and in Origen (*Adv. Celsum*, iv. 48) the words of Chrysippus on the subject of the union of Zeus and Here. Aristotle vainly called for prohibition of certain representations; his words were not heeded. The courtesans of Corinth had religious functions (Athenæus,



Dambourgez chromolith.

Imp. Dufrenoy Paris.

**CROESUS AT THE STAKE**  
(Museum of the Louvre)

\_\_\_\_\_

under the symbol saw only the idea, the great multitude saw nothing but the representation, which gratified the senses, and seemed to them to justify immorality by making it a god. Hence Aristotle says, speaking of a law not existing, but needful: "It should not be permitted to the heads of families to observe rites harmful to the modesty of their children; nor should children be suffered to witness the representation of comedies and satyric plays until they are of age to protect themselves from evil influences." These legends of the gods, filled with stories of their amours, compelled both piety and poetry to linger indulgently over details of sensual passion, whose least evil was that they deprived the Greeks of that most charming grace of poetry, art, and sentiment,—modesty. To the worshippers of Aphrodite only the baser love was known, and her poets sang of nothing else. Thus it happened, by the parallel development, but in a contrary direction, of the divine legends and of the human reason, that polytheism fell into that condition, fatal to any cult, when religion and morality were in opposition; for religious ideas are transitory and changing, like all conceptions of the mind, while the moral instincts are eternal as the soul of man, and develop as the human conscience becomes stronger and purer. A struggle between these two forces when it comes is necessarily fatal to the former.

xiii. 32), and the stern god of Delphi accepted in his temple a gilded statue of "the Thespian Phryne," offered by her lovers (Pausanias, x. 14, 7).

<sup>1</sup> Two persons sacrificing an animal. Engraved cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,673 (10 millim. by 12).



SACRIFICE.<sup>1</sup>

## SECOND PERIOD.

### FROM THE DORIAN MIGRATION TO THE MEDIAN WARS.

(1104-490 B. C.)

#### ISOLATION OF THE STATES. — INTERIOR REVOLUTIONS. — COLONIES.

### CHAPTER VII.

#### SPARTA AND LYKOURGOS.

##### I. — LAKONIA: HER FIRST KINGS.

FROM the central mass of the Arkadian mountains are detached the two chains of Taygetos and Parnon, stretching southward and ending in the two storm-scourged capes, Tainaron (Matapan) and Malea. "When you double Malea, forget your home,"<sup>1</sup> was the current proverb among the early sailors. Between these two ridges flows the Eurotas, descending as a torrent till it has passed Sparta,<sup>2</sup> after which, entering a gently sloping plain, it goes with slackened course to the sea.

A valley shut in between the abrupt sides of mountain, as between two walls, its surface varied by numerous hills, and burned in summer by an almost tropical sun, tempered by no breeze from the sea, while above were the peaks of the Taygetos, often covered with snow, — this was Lakediton, "full of hollows."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, VIII. vi. 20. Mézières, *Description de la Laconie*, in the *Archives des missions*, iii. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Homer knows no other name for this city than Lakediton (*Iliad*, ii. 581; iii. 239, 244, etc.). Sparta was twenty stadia, or at least a league, north of Amykleia, one of the most famous cities of the Peloponnesos in the heroic age, the abode of Tyndareos and the Dioskouroi.

<sup>3</sup> Κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα. . . . *Iliad*, ii. 581. The following figures justify the Homeric epithet: Mount Parnon, on the frontier of Kynouria, is 6,355 feet high; the principal summit of Taygetos, immediately above Sparta, 7,902 feet; Mount Zarax, 3,500 feet.

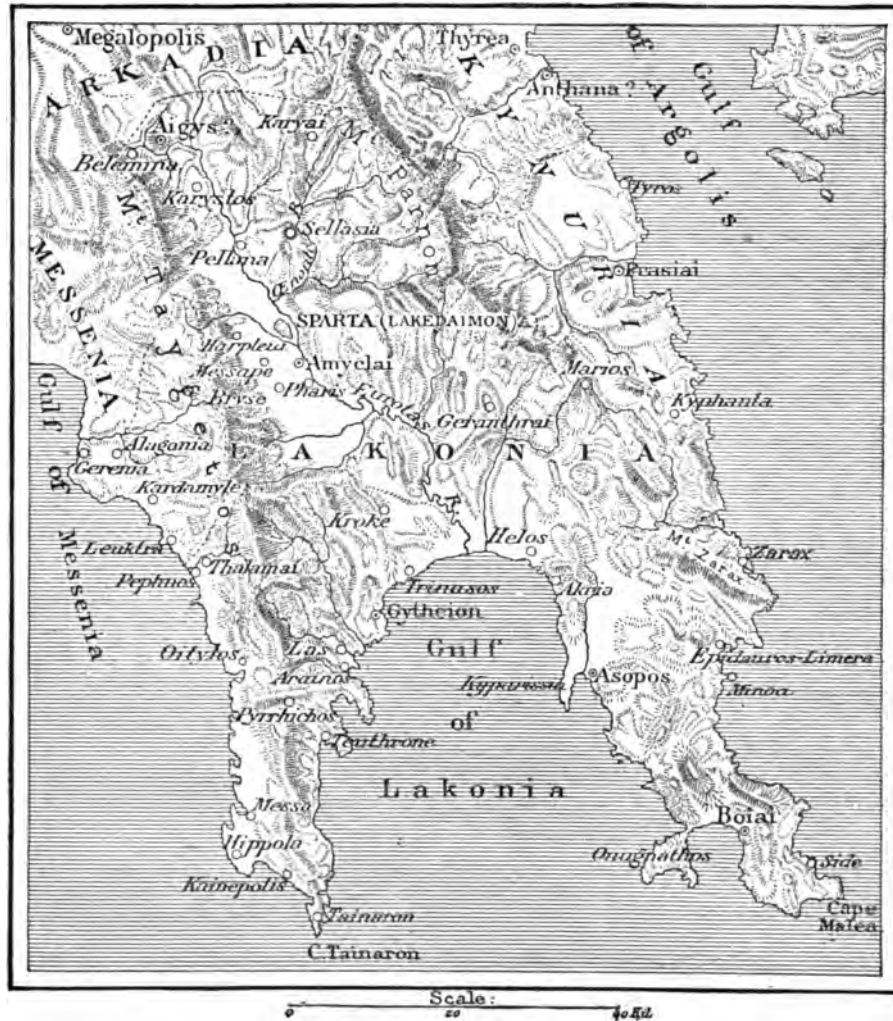


VALLEY OF THE EUROTAS (FROM STACKELBERG).





The country, by its nature and its climate, ought to render men energetic and hardy. It is not barren, but it bestows its gifts only in return for strenuous labor. The plough must be



MAP OF THE VALLEY OF THE EUROTAS.

driven along the mountain side, for it has but a single plain,—a very beautiful one, it is true,—watered by the Eurotas in its lower course. Moreover, to the very top of Mount Taygetos the vine grows in the midst of forests of plane-trees, and produces, on certain slopes, wines celebrated by Alkmaion and Theognis:

in other portions, near the richest vegetation, we find an arid, ferruginous soil.

For a warrior nation, the iron mines of Lakonia were a precious supply. The country also was admirably prepared to carry war against others without receiving it at home,—a veritable fortress, of which the only entrances were on the northwest, through the valley of the Eurotas, easily defensible; and on the



COIN OF SPARTA.<sup>2</sup>

northeast by that of Sellasia, almost impassable at its upper extremity.<sup>1</sup> On the side of Messenia there was only a narrow and dangerous footpath across the Taygetos. All these roads centred at Sparta. Euripides thus paints Lakonia: "A country rich

in productions, but difficult to cultivate; shut in on all sides by a barrier of stern mountains; almost inaccessible to the foe."

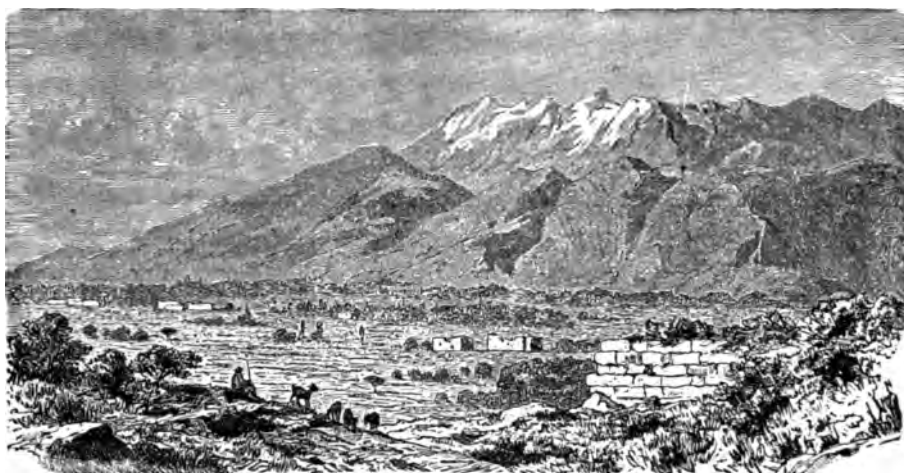
The first Lakonian king we find is an autochthon, Lelex,—which indicates that a people of this name were the earliest to leave any trace in the country. Certain traits of the local mythology attach these Leleges to the East and to the seafaring people of the Ægæan Sea. Thus, at Cape Tainaron reigned a son of Poseidon, the Argonaut Euphemos, who could walk upon the sea; on the rocks of Thalamai were born Kastor and Polydeukes, the heavenly twins who, to guide the sailor, light their watch-fires in the sky even before the sun has withdrawn his last rays. The grandson of Lelex, Eurotas, dug a canal to lead to the sea the stagnant water of the plain. Having no sons, Eurotas gave his daughter Sparta, and with her his kingdom, to Lakedaimon, himself a son of Zeus and Taygete. Such is the facile imagination of youthful races that out of a few names they can create a whole history and extended genealogies.

One of the successors of this Lakedaimon, Tyndareus, was the husband of Leda, the mother of the Dioskouroi, of Helen, and of

<sup>1</sup> "The route from Lakonia into Argolis was in antiquity what it still is,—one of the roughest and wildest in Greece." — CHATEAUBRIAND: *Itinéraire*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> ΣΠΑΡΤΗ. Diademed head of Sparta, left profile. Reverse ΛΑ (for ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ). ΕΠΙ ΕΥΡΥΚΑΕΩΣ. The Dioskouroi on horseback, holding lances, galloping, heads surmounted by a star. The whole in a wreath of laurel. (Bronze.) On the Dioskouroi, see pp. 216, 219.

Klytaimnestra. Hippokoön, his brother, having taken away his throne, Herakles restored it on condition that at his death the king should leave his kingdom to the Herakleids. But Tyndareus forgot his promise, and gave his kingdom, with his daughter Helen, to the Atreid Menelaos. Hermione, heiress of the latter, married Orestes. In the reign of their son Tisamenos the Herakleids came to claim the throne which had been promised



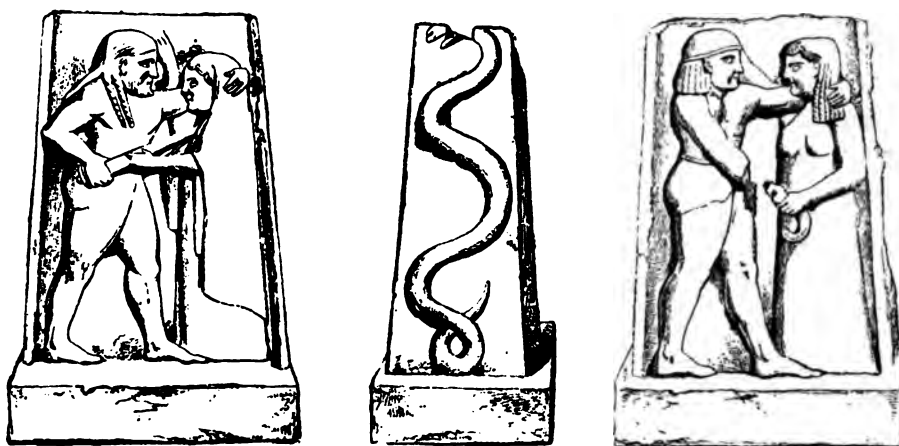
VALLEY OF SPARTA.<sup>1</sup>

to the posterity of Herakles. Lakonia fell by lot to the sons of Aristodemos, Eurysthenes and Prokles. They being twins, it was decided that both should reign: the Pythia had thus determined. They founded the two royal houses of the Agides and the Euryontides, who reigned together at Sparta for more than nine hundred years, the older branch taking the name of Agis, the son of Eurysthenes, and the younger that of the grandson of Prokles, Eurypon.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxv. 321.

<sup>2</sup> According to a very probable conjecture of Curtius, founded on a fragment of Ephoros, a sort of hexapolis was formed in Lakonia after the Dorian migration, consisting of the six cities, Sparta, Amyklai, Pharis, Aigys, Laas, and Boiai or Geronthrai, which had each its prince or king. By degrees these six kingdoms were reduced to one, — Sparta; but two royal families had survived, and hence the singular fact of two kings at Lakedaimon (Herod., v. 2). It is certain that this double royalty, which we find in no other Dorian State, must have arisen from some circumstance which escapes us. The Talthybiadaï, who held the hereditary office of public herald, claimed descent from the herald of Agamemnon (see p. 319, the illustration, and note 3); and many usages, many traditions of the Achaian epoch, that is to say, the period

The new masters of Lakonia, instead of dispersing through the open country, concentrated themselves in a place abounding in hills easily to be defended, at Sparta, in order to be on guard against any attack. They began by leaving the inhabitants in



SPARTAN BAS-RELIEFS.<sup>1</sup>

possession of their ancient laws; in the time of Eurysthenes the Lakonians even enjoyed equality with their conquerors. But Agis withdrew this concession. The Dorians, or Spartans, alone possessed political rights; the Lakonians, become their subjects, had only civil rights. Most accepted the change of condition; the

of the Pelopids, were preserved at Sparta. These facts confirm the opinion of Schömann, that the hexapolis of which Ephoros speaks was constituted in the time of the Pelopids. He thinks also that the Dorian capital was a collection of five villages, adjacent, but separated, of which one bore the name of Sparta. Lastly, it is possible that the date of the Dorian migration must be brought down from the eleventh to the ninth century.

<sup>1</sup> Extremely archaic bas-reliefs in bluish marble, discovered at Magoula, near Sparta, and preserved in the Museum of Sparta. From the *Annali dell' Instit.*, 1861, *tav. d' agg. C.* The figures, heavy and stunted, remind us of those of the ancient metopes of Selinos. The two scenes have not yet been satisfactorily explained. In the one at the right some have recognized Amphiaraos and Eriphyle, the latter holding in her hand the bracelet for which she betrayed her husband. (See above, p. 294.) Others regard it as representing the scene where Orestes meets Elektra; still others consider the two figures to be Zeus and Alkmene. The scene at the left has been regarded as representing Alkmaion, the son of Amphiaraos, avenging his father's murder; as Orestes killing Klytaimnestra; and as Menelaos threatening Helen, after the fall of Troy. Again, other scholars infer, from the serpents carved on the sides of the monument, that it is a funereal stela. See H. Dressel and A. Milchhöfer, *Die antiken Kunstwerke aus Sparta und Umgebung*, in the *Mittheilungen d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. ii. (1877) p. 301, No. 6.

inhabitants of Helos, who resisted it, were conquered and reduced to slavery, and all who imitated them shared their fate.

Such is the usual narrative. It has been seen that the Dorians at first occupied only the upper valley of the Eurotas, by which they had entered the country. Pausanias speaks of the long resistance of many cities, of Geronthrai, of Pharis, and especially of Amyklai, the old capital of the Achaian kings, which was only subdued in the reign of Teleklos, one generation before the first Olympiad. The existence of two kings in the same State makes us suspect the union of two peoples in the same city: such was the case at Rome under Romulus and Tatius. The Dorians had doubtless been constrained to make this concession to the Achaians. Hence the two kings, who preserved certain privileges of the heroic monarchy, but who, contrary to tradition, were not of the same family, and never mingled their blood nor shared their tombs. When Kleomenes, of the race of Agis, was refused admittance to the temple of Athene at Athens because he was supposed to be of Dorian race, he remonstrated, saying: "I am an Achaian."<sup>1</sup>

The Spartans had not the eager and versatile mind of the men of Ionia. Essentially conservative, they kept their double royalty even when it no longer responded to a political necessity; that is to say, after the entire subjection of Lakonia. They had that character of a dominant and oppressive race which provoked hatreds, active manifestation of which they could restrain only by continual vigilance; and they made this vigilance imperative upon themselves by leaving their



PELOPONNESIAN  
WARRIOR.<sup>2</sup>

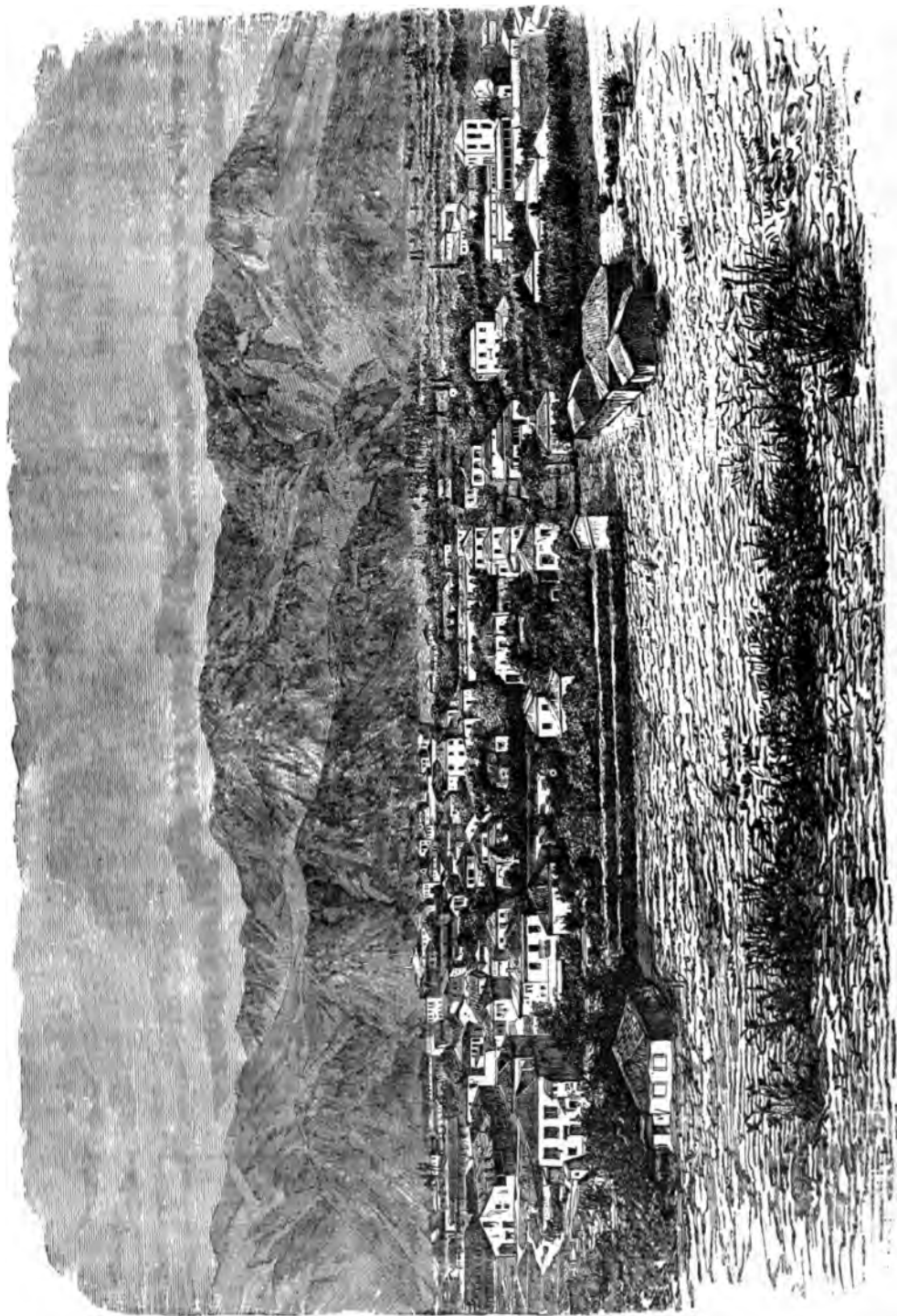
<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, v. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze statuette, found in Lakonia on the site of the ancient city Selinos; from the *Mittheilungen d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iii. (1878) pl. i. No. 2. The warrior, wearing a helmet, a cuirass, and greaves, is represented walking. On the plinth is engraved, in characters of the close of the sixth century B. C., the following inscription: *Καρίλος ἀνέθηκε τοῖ Μαλεάται*, "Charillos has consecrated to (Apollo) Maleatai." The little figurine is therefore an ex-voto.

city unwall'd. The people of Sparta were under arms at all times and subject to severe discipline, like an army encamped in the enemy's country. The Spartans alone composed the political State ; they alone had the right of being present at the assemblies where laws were made, and of aspiring to public office. Below them were their subjects: in the villages of the plain or on the slopes of Taygetos, the Lakonians, owning their land, but obliged to pay dues to the kings ; in the fields, the Helots, slaves bound to the soil, and condemned to labor for their masters.

The first two kings, Eurysthenes and Prokles, lived in perpetual hostility towards each other. Nothing was more suited to enfeeble their power, but it was their very weakness which saved it. The Dorian aristocracy retained this double royalty, necessarily inoffensive, as the patricians of Rome had two consuls, not to have a master. Following the example of two reigning houses, all the families were divided ; the equality established after the conquest by a first division of lands disappeared in respect to fortunes as it had done in respect to legal condition, and even in the dominant race there were oppressors and oppressed, rich and poor. Hence outbreaks, which shook the State, and drove some of the conquerors from the country. A grandson of Tissamenos, Theras, led a colony to the island which took his name ; others established themselves in the western part of the Peloponnesos, in Triphylia. However, notwithstanding these discords, Sparta, in the vigor of her barbaric blood, found means to make conquests ; she attacked the Kynourians, who pillaged by turns Argolis and Lakonia, and drove them out of their territory. The Argives attempting to seize upon this little country, she turned upon them and defeated them. Thus a quarrel originated which was to last for many centuries.

This situation of the conquerors of Lakonia, surrounded by enemies in the midst of their conquest, and threatened on their frontiers by warlike neighbors, imposed upon them a necessity of close union at home. Domestic dissensions would impair their discipline and augment the peril from without. Lykourgos undertook the work of strengthening that discipline, and drawing closer the bonds which attached the citizens to the State.



SPARTA AND MOUNT TAYGETOS.





## II. — LYKOURGOS AND HIS LAWS.

IN respect to Lykourgos himself, as well as concerning his laws, there are uncertainties which modern criticism has not been able to dispel; what will be given here on this subject is rather matter of tradition than of history; the same is true as to most of the events anterior to the Median wars.<sup>1</sup>

It is believed that Lykourgos was born in the ninth century B. C.,<sup>2</sup> and was the son of one of the Spartan kings. The violent

LYKOURGOS.<sup>3</sup>

death of his father and of his elder brother left him the guardian of the latter's infant son; but the Spartan nobles were displeased by the prudence of his administration, and he was shortly

COIN OF GORTYNA, IN KRETE.<sup>4</sup>

obliged to exile himself from his native land. He then travelled for many years, to converse with the wise men of various countries, and examine the laws and customs of other lands. In the Island of Krete he studied the laws of Minos under the guidance of the poet Thaletas, who sung his verses to the lyre, and

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch says, at the beginning of his *Life of Lykourgos*: "We have no certain knowledge as to him. His origin, his travels, his death, even his laws and the form of government which he established, are described differently by different authorities."

<sup>2</sup> Eratosthenes makes him contemporary of a king of Elis named Iphitos, who is said to have renewed the institution of the Olympic games, attributed to Herakles and to Pelops a hundred and eight years before the Olympiad of Koroibos, which is fixed in the year 776 B. C., thus bringing the period at which Lykourgos was in his prime to about 884. According to Thucydides (i. 18), the legislation attributed to Lykourgos is anterior "by four hundred years and more to the close of the Peloponnesian War." This war ended in 404, and we have to go back somewhat farther than 804, according to Thucydides, for the establishment of the Spartan constitution. This legislation was, however, unwritten. . . . *Solitum est ut Lacedaemonii . . . ea quae pro legibus observarent, memoriae mandarent* (*Institutes of Justinian*, book i., tit. 2, § 10).

<sup>3</sup> Bust of the Spartan law-maker, bareheaded, with long beard. Engraved amethyst of the *Cabinet de France* set as a ring; No. 2,039 of the *Catalogue*.

<sup>4</sup> Obverse, Europa upon the bull, in an attitude of alarm, with arms extended. Beneath is a dolphin, to indicate the ocean. On the reverse, a lion's head in an incused square, surrounded by the inscription in archaic character: Γόρτυνος τὸ νάϊμα (mintage of Gortyna), from the verb *ναίω*, to strike. (Silver coin.) See Friedländer and Sallet, *Das königliche Münzkabinet*, Berlin, 1877, No. 42, p. 59.

whom Lykourgos afterwards called to Sparta, that he might avail himself of the poet's assistance in humanizing the minds of his rude countrymen. From Asia Minor he brought away only the Homeric poems; but the Egyptian priests counted him among their disciples. The Spartans of a later age maintained that he went as far as India, to interrogate the ancient wisdom of the Brahmins and visit those lands, cradle of the dawn, whence, it appeared to the ancients, all light must come. These were extremely long and difficult journeys for the men of that day; Lykourgos by no means made them, and learned neither from Indian nor Egyptian priests.

The relation of the Spartan institutions with those of Krete is manifest. The division of the population into slaves, conquered men of free condition, and conquerors; the further division of the latter into three tribes; the system of public meals; the influence of the aged; and the senate of old men, — all belong to that island. But they belonged also to all the Dorian peoples as a result of customs common to the race and of political necessities arising from analogous situations. Lykourgos did not invent his legislation, neither did he import it ready made from foreign countries, for laws which are permanent spring out of customs, and it is only as a secondary work that legislators give them form. He revived and co-ordinated ancient customs, made definite that which had been vague, completed what was imperfect, and compiled from scattered but vital elements a body of laws rigorously formulated.

On his return, after an absence which is said to have lasted eighteen years, Lykourgos found the city full of disorder; the people themselves felt the need of a reform. The moment was favorable. That he might add the authority of the Delphian Apollo to that of his own name, he consulted the oracle as to his projects. The Pythia saluted him as the friend of Zeus.

Strong in the support of the god, in whatever way it may have been obtained, he began by interesting in his designs a numerous and powerful party, so that in case of need he could count upon force in making his laws accepted. The young king Charilaos was one of his most zealous partisans.

The evils from which Sparta at that time suffered, all arose

from the anarchy produced by the extreme wealth of some, and poverty of others, in the class of the conquerors, brought face to face and in hostility under the eyes of the conquered, who hoped, doubtless, to profit by these discords in breaking off a hated yoke. The evil of which the State was perishing was this inequality among its people; and this evil Lykourgos proposed to cure by substituting the opposite principle.

Immediately after the invasion, the conquering Dorians had, according to the custom of the time, divided among themselves by lot the conquered territory. But this equal partition had quickly become disturbed. Lykourgos proposed to re-establish it by re-distributing the land after the old agrarian custom. He divided the whole territory into equal portions: according to Plutarch, making thirty-nine thousand lots, of which thirty thousand were for the Achaian Lakonians, and nine thousand for the Spartans; the latter much larger than the former, and including the better lands, but as nearly as possible equal among themselves, if not in actual measurement, at least in value and amount of produce.<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants were divided into three classes, — Spartans, Provincials (*Perioikoi*), and Helots. The Spartans, the ruling people, were the descendants of the Dorian conquerors; they lived

<sup>1</sup> Authors differ as to the extent of the lots. These disagreements, and the silence of Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, lead Lachmann, Kortum, Kopstadt, and Grote to believe that such a partition never took place; the latter even only attributes to Lykourgos some laws concerning the education of children and concerning public meals, and calls him "the trainer of a military brotherhood rather than the framer of a political constitution" (ii. 525). I admit that Lykourgos could not have divided all the lands of Lakonia, for the reason that the country had not been entirely conquered in his time: but the constitution of Sparta, and the ideas that the ancients had about it, resting on the principle of an equality of possessions, I cannot doubt that this equality was, at a definite time, established by a division of the land. This opinion is maintained by most writers who have discussed the subject, such as Hermann, Tittmann, Wachsmuth, Manso, O. Müller, Schömann, Thirlwall, and Curtius. The love of money — a trait of Spartan character on which Aristotle especially dwells — proves, we might say, were there no other proof, that this great desire for personal property arose from the difficulty of increasing landed estate, which, however, the Spartans in the end often were able to do. How was this done, since the lots were in the beginning inalienable and indivisible? Before the Peloponnesian War, by the extinction of a number of the original families; after that war, by the law of Epitadeos, which authorized a father to dispose of his property as he chose. Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 7) says that to sell or buy a lot of land was to give great offence to the public sentiment; but there was the largest liberty as to legacies or donations. This liberty was quite enough to bring about a concentration of property in a few hands.

together in Sparta, and were called equals (*οἱ ὅμοιοι*). The Provincials were the ancient Achaians who had not escaped with Tissamenos to Aigaileia, also those foreigners who had accompanied



APOLLO.<sup>2</sup>

the conquerors, and even a few Dorians who from one cause or another — for instance, an inability to furnish the needful quota towards the public table — had fallen from the rank of citizens. The Lakonians, or Provincials, called the *Perioikoi*, “those who dwell around the city, without being included in it,” cultivated the mountain slopes and the sea-coast. They occupied “the hundred cities of Lakonia,” — miserable hamlets, for the most part represented at Sparta by an annual hecatomb. They had no political rights, were subject in respect to the administration of their communities to the surveillance of the Spartans, owed a tribute (probably the half of the product of their lands),<sup>1</sup> and military service; ten thousand fought at Plataia with the five thousand Spartans, and seven hundred were with

Leonidas at Thermopylai. The *ephoroi*, and doubtless the kings before them, had the right to put them to death without legal procedure.<sup>3</sup> Their situation was, however, ameliorated by certain advantages; if they had not the rights of the Spartans, neither were they condemned to the same austerity of manners; industry and

<sup>1</sup> This was the tribute which the conquered Messenians were required to pay (*Tyrtaios*, *ap. Pausanias*, iv. 14, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Bronze statuette of the *Cabinet de France* (*Catalogue*, No. 2,940). This was discovered at Bologna; the characters of the inscription, *Καφισόδορος Αἰσκληπιοῖ*, are those of Corinth, Megara, and their colonies. This figurine is known under the name of Apollo, but the inscription proves it to be an *ex-voto* to Asklepios, offered by a certain Kaphisodoros: *Καφισόδορος Αἰσκληπιοῖ*. Cf. Roehl, *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae*, No. 549, p. 158. Letronne has demonstrated that a statue of a god is very often offered to another god. Cf. S. Reinach, *Epigr. grecque*, p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable that there was some exaggeration in the picture which Isokrates (*Panathen.*, 178) draws of the condition of the *Perioikoi*.

trade, disdained by the conquerors, belonged to them. This was not important, for all luxury was prohibited to the Spartan; but there was compensation in the magnificence which the State displayed in its temples and solemnities. Even in other countries certain products of their industry were esteemed. Brasidas showed in his expeditions what services they could render, and when Sparta had vessels of war, they formed the crews. These services, and the acquisition of wealth, which was not prohibited, gave some of them opportunity to rise to places of honor. It is asserted that Lysandros, Kallikratidas, and Gylippos were of this class; it is certain that many of the Olympic victors and some artists belonged to it. Before the Peloponnesian War all physical trace of an original difference between the Perioikoi and the Spartans had disappeared; all employed the Dorian language: but at the same time the lines of political demarcation were severely maintained.

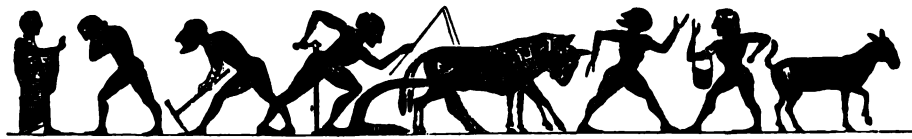
We must not expect to find in Sparta the policy which was an active cause of the prosperity of Rome, — a ready concession of citizenship. The whole spirit of the Spartan constitution was contrary to such a step. Herodotos tells us that two men only ever obtained the title of citizen, — the diviner Tissamenos, and his brother Hegias. Tissamenos, to whom the Delphic oracle had promised great victories, was present with the Greek army at Plataia. The Spartans, very superstitious in respect to their national divinity, Apollo, desired that the predestined man should become one of themselves, in order to share in his fortune. The diviner consented on condition that his brother as well as himself should be made a citizen of Sparta.<sup>1</sup> Every close aristocracy is destined to perish; we shall presently see Sparta fall for lack of men, — *ὀλιγανδρία*, says Polybios.

We have seen what was the origin of the Helots. They were more numerous than the slaves in any other Greek city, and represented slavery in its most complete form.<sup>2</sup> This servitude

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, ix. 33. Strangers were allowed to be present at festivals in Sparta; Lichas, we know, had an open table for them (Xenophon, *Memor.*, i. 2, *ad fin.*).

<sup>2</sup> On p. 140, note 2, of this volume is given the number of Helots according to Clinton; Schömann raises it much higher, — to 224,000; but there is always great uncertainty as to figures furnished by the ancients, or established from their testimony. We can only say positively that their number far exceeded that of the Spartans. By some the name Heilotes has been derived from the city Heilos; by others from *Εἰλωτες*, prisoners. The city of Heilos was not taken till after Lykourgos.

was twofold: the Helot had two masters, — his private owner, and the State; he belonged to all, and also to one. His will and his life were in the hands of Sparta, who had absolute control of both. But a limit was imposed upon the power of the master: this latter could neither kill his Helots nor sell them, they being attached to the soil like the mediæval serfs; and this fixed position was to them a certain advantage. As the Spartan was held to a simple and invariable manner of life, he only required from the Helots who cultivated his land a supply of food always the



AGRICULTURAL SCENE.<sup>1</sup>

same, and merely enough for himself and his family; beyond this he claimed nothing, and any further product of the land belonged to the slave, who might sell it for his own profit, and gradually ameliorate the conditions of his life. Nor was the hope of freedom denied him; he might attain it by enfranchisement, and might merit this by services at home or by courage in war, for the State employed him in public works, and often called him to the honor of fighting for the common country. The enfranchised Helots formed a class called Neodamodeis.

This position would not have been intolerable, and the word "Helot" would not have come to be an expression of all that is most frightful in slavery, had their condition been simply that which we have described. But this class, active, industrious, numerous especially, kept the Spartans in constant alarm. It is dangerous for the slave when he causes alarm to his master. Sparta had laws against her slaves more atrocious than any black code ever known elsewhere. She degraded them in external appearance, — a certain garment, which they could never lay

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from a cup in the Campana Collection, in the Louvre. In the centre a laborer holds a plough drawn by two oxen; behind him two men are breaking up the soils with pickaxes. (It would seem that the artist neglected to give his pickaxe to the second man.) On the extreme left approaches an overseer. At the right a mule, a man scattering seed from a basket, and a man walking with long strides.

aside, pointed them out to recognition wherever they were; they were forbidden to sing the warrior hymns of the Spartans; and, to be amused by their vices, or to hold them up as a warning to Spartan boys, their masters forced them to become intoxicated. Annually, also, if we may believe the accounts of historians, a band of young Spartans were sent out to murder any whom they met on the roads by night: this legalized massacre had an official name, — the *krypteia*. Sometimes, instead of being made in detail, the slaughter of the Helots was made in mass. Thucydides relates the following, which took place at a certain time, when it was feared they might attempt a revolution: —

COIN OF SPARTA.<sup>1</sup>

“Proclamation was made that as many of the Helots as claimed to have done the State most service should be picked out, professedly to receive their liberty, — thus applying a test to them, with the idea that those who severally claimed to be first made free, would also, through their high spirit, be most ready to attack their masters. Having thus selected as many as two thousand, these Helots put wreaths on their heads and went round to the temples as having gained their freedom; but the Spartans soon after did away with them, and no one ever knew by what means they were severally despatched.”

This fact, recorded without hesitation by a historian who is not at all hostile to the Spartans, forces us to believe that there is very little exaggeration in what old writers tell us of the *krypteia*. A learned critic<sup>2</sup> sees in this strange institution one of those laws of curfew not uncommon, — a measure of police against vagabondage and nocturnal meetings, only with a penalty of atrocious severity. The explanation is a good one; Sparta, like a besieged fortress, had need for its protection of greater rigor than ever military law established. Aristotle, who is never accused of tenderness towards slaves, says: “The barbarous punishments inflicted on Helots made them enemies and conspirators;”<sup>3</sup> and as a matter

<sup>1</sup> Laurelled and bearded head of Herakles, right profile. Reverse an amphora, standing, between caps of the Dioskouroi, surmounted by two stars; above AA(KEΔAIMONION). The whole surrounded by a wreath of laurel (drachma).

<sup>2</sup> Wallon, *Recherches sur la cryptie*.

<sup>3</sup> *Pol.*, ii. 7.



of fact they did conspire incessantly, and we shall see that they took advantage of every danger that threatened Lacedæmon.<sup>1</sup>

Without the Helot the Spartan is incomplete. He engages in war, in sham-fights, or in discussion of public affairs; but as soon as he leaves the camp, the *platanistos*, or the council, his work is ended, and he has all the leisure that Aristotle demands for the perfect citizen. The better to keep him always ready for military duty, the State forbade him, even when she had no need of him for the moment, to engage in any domestic occupation; accordingly, the Helot must labor for him and support him. Abolish the Helot, and there are no more Spartans; for the laws of Lykourgos would fall to the ground as soon as the axe and the spade replace the lance in the hand of the Dorians, as soon as they abandon war for agriculture and traffic. The labor of the former follows inevitably from the leisure of the latter. Hence slavery remained always the necessary condition of the existence even of Sparta, and grew more severe as enfeebled Sparta grew more suspicious.

But the Spartan himself keeps his title and rank only on two conditions; namely, that he submit to the severe discipline established by Lykourgos, and that he furnish what the law requires for public meals. If he does not fulfil these obligations, he is deprived of his rights. Every Spartan has by right a share in the government as king, as ephor, or as a private citizen. In fact the government of Sparta is a democracy, considering the Spartans alone, who were a community of equals; but if we consider the whole empire of Sparta, it is an aristocracy, approaching even an oligarchy, so great is the disproportion between the mass of the inhabitants and the relatively very small number of the governing class.<sup>3</sup>



COIN OF SPARTA.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words "Spartans" and "Lacedæmonians" are often confused. The former designates properly the dominant class; the latter, both the masters of Lakonia and the Perioikoi; sometimes, however, the name Lacedæmonians is employed to designate the Spartans only.

<sup>2</sup> ΛΥΚΟΡΓΟΣ. Bearded head of Lykourgos, right profile. The reverse bears a club, forming the stem of the caduceus; in the field, ΑΑ[ΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ] and two monograms of names of magistrates. The whole in a laurel-wreath. (Bronze coin.)

<sup>3</sup> Wallon (*Histoire de l'esclavage*, etc., vol. i., chap. iii., p. 108) thinks that at the time of the battle of Plataia there were about eight thousand Spartans, or, including women and chil-

It has been already said that all the Spartans enjoyed equal rights. Lykourgos further decreed that they should be closely united by a sort of brotherhood in arms. He divided them, or rather preserved a division already existing, into three sister tribes, — the Hylleians (Ἕλλεῖς), the Pamphylians (Πάμφυλοι), and the Dymanes (Δυμᾶνες), distinguished among themselves only by the fact that the kings belonged to the first tribe. Each was divided into ten sections, called ὠβαί (*obai*), in turn subdivided into thirty τριακάδες (*triakades*). Each *triakas* consisted of ten families; hence the number of nine thousand, which was that of the lots of land destined to the Spartans, each representing one citizen capable of bearing arms.

COIN OF SPARTA.<sup>1</sup>

Every month, at the time of the full moon, the public assembly met; and the Herakleid had no more legal influence therein than the humblest citizen. This assembly voted, without deliberating, a Yes or No upon the propositions presented by the magistrates. It was not until a later period that discussions and the making of amendments were introduced; and then it was necessary that the orator obtain from the magistrates permission to speak. Later also there were the small and the great assembly: the former met to appoint magistrates and priests; the latter to settle important affairs, such as peace or war, changes in the constitution, and succession to the throne when vacant.

Of higher authority was the senate, properly so-called, the *gerousia* (γερουσία). It was of democratic formation, since neither conditions as to birth or fortune were attached to its membership; at the same time it had a certain aristocratic character, making age a condition: no man was eligible until he was sixty years old. In thus composing its senate of old men, Sparta secured to its habitual policy a peculiar character, marked by deliberate-

dren, 31,400 persons, 120,000 Perioikoi, and 220,000 Helots. This gives a subject population ten times more numerous than the ruling class. The estimate of Clinton (see above, p. 140, note 2) differs much from this, but has no better grounds. The enormous disproportion of the two classes is, however, unquestionable.

<sup>1</sup> Heads of the Dioskouroi, right profile, surmounted by two stars. Reverse, two amphoras, standing; above, the letters ΣΙ, initials of a magistrate's name. The whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (Bronze.)

ness, circumspection, and prudence, often excessive, and a like distrust in respect to men and to fortune.

The senate was composed of thirty members, one from each of the *obai*. Of this number were the kings, having no special privileges in the assembly, except that a casting vote was granted to the Agid king. The senate deliberated on propositions to be presented to the assembly, judged as a criminal court, and exercised some of the censorial functions which were afterwards monopolized by the ephors. When a vacancy occurred, the new senator was elected after a singular method: the candidates presented themselves one by one before the people, who saluted with acclamations, varying in intensity according to the popularity of each. Certain old men, selected for the purpose, were shut up in an adjoining building, where they could hear the shouting, but could not see the individual in whose favor the clamor was made. The person whom these judges thought to have received the loudest applause was the one selected. Appointed for life, the members of the senate were irremovable and irresponsible,—which contributed to give this body an aristocratic character; nothing being more contrary to the principles of democracy than a life-office and a governing body whose members do not after a time return into the crowd.

The two kings, who must be free from any bodily infirmity, were retained. We have seen how restricted was their influence both in the senate and the assembly; it was much like that possessed by the kings of the heroic age. By retaining this character, the royal office endured at Sparta long after it had given way in the other States. Subject to the same discipline and wearing a like costume with other citizens, they are distinguished only by certain prerogatives which bring to mind the royal functions of ancient times. They command the army, when they are accompanied by a guard of a hundred men, and when the troops are on foreign soil the power of the kings is almost absolute,<sup>1</sup> —a fact which makes them partisans of wars, since in the camp they are free from the control by which they are hampered in

<sup>1</sup> Here also their power was after a time limited by the ephors, who sent two of their number to the army; and in 418 by a council of ten Spartans, who accompanied the king on all expeditions.

time of peace. While their constitutional prerogatives are thus small, they are profoundly respected by the people as the descendants of Herakles, and a religious idea is attached to the maintenance of their family and their title. So long as the Herakleids were at her head, Sparta felt sure of divine protection. Moreover they have the guardianship of the oracles, with Pythian officers attached to their persons, intermediaries between Sparta and the Delphian temple. The first and the seventh day of each month the State gives them an animal to be offered in sacrifice; for as priests of Zeus they sacrifice to him in public ceremonies in the name of the community: but they must perform this rite at the dawn of day, "to be the first to obtain the favor of the god," who was believed likely to yield, like an amiable monarch, to the requests of the most earnest applicants. From every litter of pigs one belongs to them, that they may always have a victim at hand whenever they need to consult the gods, which was done more frequently at Lacedæmon than elsewhere;<sup>1</sup> and at the public meals they have a double portion, both as an honor and that they may be able to send from their table to those whom they wished to distinguish, and also that, eating more than the other citizens, they shall be the stronger in battle.<sup>2</sup> All men stand in the presence of the kings, except the ephors, who remain seated; and at any public sacrifice made by a citizen they have the most honorable place. Their death causes a public mourning of ten days; their accession is welcomed with festivals and a remission of all debts due by citizens to the State.

These prerogatives are honors, but not power; care even was taken that there should be no temptation for them to make any change. The kings of the heroic age were established in fortresses whence, at need, they could defy popular resentments; those of Sparta dwelt in open houses, like the private citizens

<sup>1</sup> Diviners were highly esteemed at Sparta; nothing was done without them. They followed the armies, and the State had two official soothsayers (Thucydides, v. 54, 55, vi. 69). On a campaign, the kings carried with them the images of the two Tyndarids, the patrons of Lacedæmon (Herodotos, v. 75).

<sup>2</sup> The Romans had also their *duplicarii*; see *History of Rome*, v. 146. This custom is found in Homer (*Iliad*, vii. 321, viii. 162), and Plato introduces it into his republic (book v. p. 96, ed. Didot): "It will be a distinction for the warriors," he says, "and a means of increasing their strength."

around them. Accordingly, Herodotos does not consider the government of Sparta monarchical, and Aristotle regards it as nothing more than an aristocracy.<sup>1</sup>

I shall not here speak of the ephors, whom we meet in other Dorian States, and whose powers, obscure, and limited without doubt at first to the superintendence of markets, were destined to increase so far as "to oblige the kings," says Polybius, "to venerate them as if the ephors had been their fathers." They were five in number, elected annually, and in a manner which is not known,



THE AKROPOLIS OF SPARTA.<sup>2</sup>

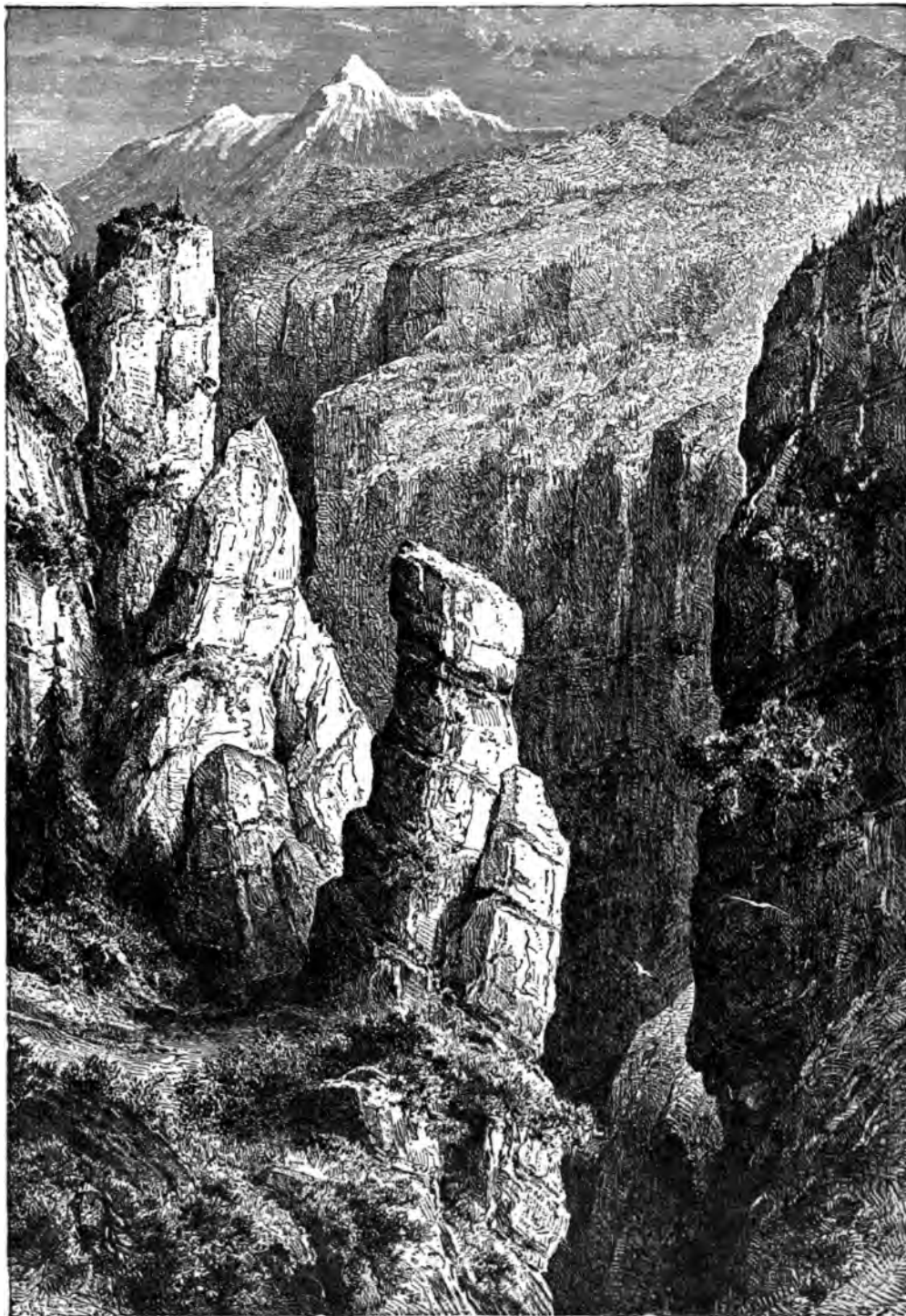
but is referred to by Aristotle as puerile, and required no qualification of age or property, so that the most insignificant citizen might attain the office. The creation of the office is placed by Aristotle<sup>3</sup> a century after Lykourgos, under the kings Theopompos and Polydoros, and will be spoken of more fully later.

Thus far we find nothing which belongs exclusively to Lykourgos or Sparta. The intentions of the legislator are more clear in the institutions relating to private life. The dominating principle in these is that of all antiquity: the citizen is born and lives for the State; to it his time, his strength, and all his powers belong.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, v. 92; Aristotle, *Pol.*, v. 12.

<sup>2</sup> From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*, etc. At the right are the heights above Sparta; at the left the Taygetos and the ruins of the Frankish city of Mistra.

<sup>3</sup> *Pol.*, v. 2.



GORGE OF MOUNT TAYGETOS.

Langadha de Magoula (*Tour du Monde*, xxxv. 345).



Nowhere else, however, was this principle so rigidly enforced as in Sparta. Lykourgos kept it strictly in view in all the old customs which he revived, and all the innovations which he introduced. "He strengthened the citizen," says Rousseau, "by taking away all human traits from the man."

Lykourgos had made an equal distribution of lands; but it was not his intention to confer upon the Spartans the usual rights of property. It may be said that there were no landowners in Sparta; for that which is the very essence of ownership, the right of disposing of a man's property, was entirely denied to the Spartan. As among the Hebrews, the lots of land were not subject to sale. The Jewish law, indeed, permitted the temporary alienation of property, but in the year of jubilee it must return to the original owners. At Lacedæmon not even this was allowed. A Spartan could neither buy nor sell. The father could not divide what he was about to leave to his children. Only as late as the fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> was it permitted him to dispose of his estate: he must leave his κλῆρος, or original lot, to his eldest son, and in default of male posterity to his eldest daughter. This is what our modern laws call an entail. Thus the citizen's liberty as a landowner was greatly limited, but permanence was secured to the condition of the land.

It was also secured to the condition of the population by certain measures designed to keep the number of citizens at the same level. The great care of the legislators and statesmen of antiquity was to retain the State within its limits, allowing it neither to increase nor diminish. Any excess of citizens Lykourgos counteracted by his law requiring the exposure of feeble or deformed children. But in a little warlike State, where every citizen is a soldier and serves in the army, the losses in war suffice, and more than suffice, to keep down the population; and the point of prime importance is to secure its increase. This the legislator provided for by penalties against celibacy, and a kind of disgrace attached to childlessness. On one occasion Derkyllidas, a general of great renown, enters an assembly; a young Spartan fails to rise at his approach, as was the custom: the old warrior is surprised. "You

<sup>1</sup> See, in Plutarch, *Agis.*, 6, the law of the Ephor Epitadeos, and, above, p. 445. note 1.

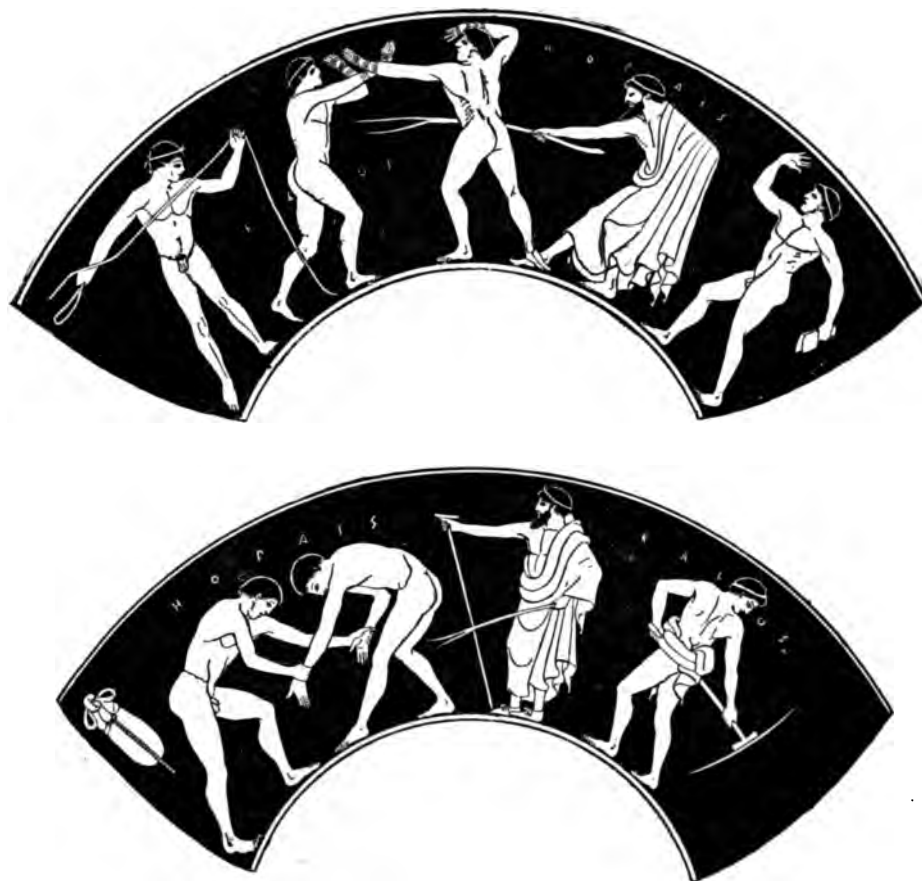


have no sons," says the youth, "who will one day pay the same honor to me;" and public opinion accepted the excuse. At a later period the government granted rewards to citizens having large families, and also favored adoptions and marriages of rich heiresses to poor young men. The kings, whose sanction was needed to legalize adoptions, and who disposed of orphan girls in marriage when the father had not made known his wishes on the subject, were thus able, during a period, to save the useful citizen from indigence, and to prevent the accumulation of wealth in individual hands.

From the moment of his birth the young Spartan falls into the hands of the State. The father must immediately expose him in the *lesche*,—the place of public assembly. In vain would he seek to protect his child; if the elders consider the infant feeble and unpromising, it is thrown off a cliff of Mount Taygetos,—a cruel and monstrous usage, which philosophers and statesmen, from Plato and Aristotle down, accepted as a necessity.

After this severe inspection of its future citizen, the State restores the boy to his mother, and leaves him with her till the age of seven. He is then taken away permanently, and from this time forward his life is one long apprenticeship to patience, sobriety, and even suffering. He takes his place in a band which instructors, selected from among the bravest of the young men, train, under the superintendence of a magistrate called *paidonomos*. The lads were trained in running and wrestling, in the use of arms, in all that could give to the body strength and agility, and to the soul courage and fortitude. "It is not easy to find," says Xenophon, "men better formed and more supple in body than the Spartans; they exercise with equal care the neck, the arms, and the legs. They wear no shoes; they have the same clothing winter and summer; for their bed they cut rushes in the valley of the Eurotas; and they have but little food given them, so that they may be led to obtain by violence or craft that wherewith to satisfy their appetites." It is strange thus to see theft taught as a lesson; but, with the common ownership which united all Spartans, it was not really theft. He who was detected received punishment, not as guilty, but as awkward. In war they would again employ, to deceive the enemy, the ruses whereby in

childhood they had obtained the desired food. A Spartan boy, we are told, had stolen a young fox; seeing a person approach, he hid the animal under his garment, and was able to let it bite and tear his flesh without betraying himself by a sign or outcry of pain. To



EXERCISES OF THE EPHEBOI.<sup>1</sup>

harden them to pain, the young Spartans were subjected to severities such as the American Indians trained themselves to endure. They were scourged before the altar of Artemis, and he who could best

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, pl. cclxxi. 1 and 2. 1. Two epheboi are engaged in boxing; the master, at the right, tries to separate them with his long wand. Behind him another approaches. At the left, one is picking up a long string. 2. Two epheboi are wrestling under the superintendence of a judge. At the left, a sack is hung up. Behind the judge, another, with his garments knotted around his waist, holds a pick in his hand. He is perhaps about to mark out a place for his companion to stand and throw the javelin. There is still another figure on the cup, which is not reproduced here, resembling the last figure at the left in the other section.

support the pain merited the title of *βαμονίκης*, — “conqueror of the altar.” More than once a Spartan lad perished under the rod without



MARBLE STATUE.<sup>2</sup>

a cry to reveal his sufferings.<sup>1</sup> With these exercises were mingled others of a very different kind. The boys were taught to play the flute and the lyre, to sing sacred hymns or warlike songs. Homer, Tyrtaios, and all masculine poetry which lifts and fortifies the soul, were greatly honored; but the verses of Alkaïos, who shamefully sang of his flight and his shield left behind to the enemy, were proscribed. Next to patriotism, the virtue most sedulously inculcated was respect for the aged. Nothing could be more important than this in a State where almost all the magistrates were old men, and the unwritten law was spoken by the elders. The Spartans regarded it as an act of obedience to the gods when they honored one whom the divinity had judged worthy of a long life. Once, it is said, in the theatre in Athens an old man sought a place to sit down in the crowd; repulsed by some, and laughed at by others, he knew not which way to turn, when a

group of Spartan deputies who chanced to be present at once stood up and beckoned him to take a seat with them. The audience broke

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been less a pedagogic than a religious custom, which, according to Pausanias (iii. 16, 10), was substituted by Lykourgos for the human sacrifices offered to Artemis, fulfilling the command to sprinkle her altar with human blood. At Alea, in Arkadiā, in the temple of Dionysos, women were scourged during the ceremonies.

<sup>2</sup> Young girl of Elis, victorious in running. Marble statue in the Vatican (*Mus. Pio Clem.*), from a cast. At the Herean Games, celebrated by the women of Elis in honor of Here, the young girls, divided into three bands, according to age, strive for the prize of running. Pausanias, from whom we learn this (v. 16, 2), thus describes them: “They all run with their hair loose over their shoulders, wearing a short tunic above the knee, and the right shoulder bare to the breast. . . . The victors receive olive-wreaths, and part of the heifer

into applause. "I see," said the old man, "that the Athenians know what is noble, but only the Lacedæmonians do it."

At the age of twenty the youth is admitted to the army, and serves either at home or abroad. At thirty he marries and enters upon the full rights of the citizen, still, however, remaining subject to all the severity of Spartan discipline. At sixty his military career is finished, and henceforth he is occupied with public affairs and the superintendence of the education of the children.

The training of the Spartan girls was scarcely less severe. Instead of condemning them to a sedentary life in the *gynaikonitis*, Lykourgos committed the work of spinning wool and preparing garments to the female slaves,<sup>1</sup> and took care that the daughters of the Spartan race should be trained so that they might become in future life the mothers of robust children. He established for them, as for the other sex, gymnastic exercises, races, wrestling matches, whereby they were made healthy and strong. They practised these exercises in public, almost without other clothing than their own modesty,<sup>2</sup> up to the age of twenty,—the usual age for marriage. Then began domestic cares, which left them great liberty,—not to the detriment of public morals, however, for they lived under the eyes of all, and made no attempt to soften the severe austerity of Spartan manners. This education, improving their character, long gave them an influence envied by the other women of Greece. "You Spartan women are the only ones who rule over men," a stranger said to the wife of Leonidas. "We are the only ones," she rejoined, "who are the mothers of men."

Sparta desired to be to her children the one beloved object; and that she might engross all affection, she destroyed by her

sacrificed to Here; moreover, paintings of them are made for Here." The description agrees exactly with the figure in the Vatican; further, we notice that the tunic is girded around the waist with a wide *strophium*. The palm carved on the trunk which serves to support the figure is a symbol of victory.

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, on the contrary, in his *Republic of Lacedæmon*, 1, contrasts the education given in his time to girls in Sparta with that which they received in the other cities of Greece: "They eat very little bread or highly seasoned food, they drink no wine, and work at spinning wool and at making garments."

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle says that in his time, at least, this was a very light garment (*Pol.*, ii. 6; vol. i. p. 511, ed. Didot).

laws both parental and conjugal love. It was disgraceful for a man to be seen in the company of his wife, or to be observed entering or leaving her apartment.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the goddess of love was banished from Lacedæmon. It is true there was one



YOUNG SPARTAN GIRL.<sup>2</sup>

temple to Aphrodite; but the goddess was armed, not with her fascinations, but with a sword, and was represented sitting, a veil upon her head, and fetters on her feet.<sup>3</sup>

Family life existed, however, in Sparta. as it did throughout Greece; every family had its hearth, its domestic divinity, and its

<sup>1</sup> This doubtless applied to the young Spartan, who owed his entire day to the State for military exercises.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of a marble bas-relief discovered in Lakonia, from the *Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. viii. (1883) pl. xvi. The subject is the same as on the bas-relief of Krysapha (p. 395); it is an offering to a dead hero, who holds in his hand the *kantharos* into which the girl pours a libation. But the work marks a very evident gain, and the whole figure has a grace unusual in Spartan bas-reliefs.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, iii. 15, 11.

ancestral tomb.<sup>1</sup> The Spartan woman was treated with respect, and she often showed, in the best days of Lacedæmon, a grandeur of character that made her the worthy rival of the Roman matron. "It is very short," the young soldier said to his mother, showing her his sword. "Go one step nearer," she replied. Another matron, giving her son his shield, bade him return with it or upon it; that is to say, "Kill, or be killed; but let there be no cowardice: death were better." Another sends her eight sons into battle; all are killed. She sheds not a tear, but says: "Sparta, I gave them that they might die for thee."

Lykourgos desired the Spartans to have an austere mode of life, — no luxury; and to this end he gave them only iron coinage, which foreign nations would not receive, and in which even a small sum was so heavy that it must be transported in carts.<sup>2</sup> But though the city minted no gold coin,<sup>3</sup> she received it abundantly when she became a powerful State, and the venality of Spartans has left many instances in history. As Lykourgos banished luxury, so he banished also commerce, which brings it to a people. Foreigners would have introduced new ideas, and accordingly they were forbidden entrance into Sparta, except on certain days. Nor could a Spartan travel, except by permission of the magistrates, and there was penalty of death against him who went to live in a foreign country: he was a deserter.

To the same end was the institution of meals in common, at which all Spartans, even the kings, were expected to be present, under penalty of losing their political rights, unless the absent

COIN OF SPARTA.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Fustel de Coulanges, *La propriété à Sparte* (*Bull. de l'Académie des sc. mor.*, 1880, p. 645).

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, vi. 40.

<sup>3</sup> This prohibition must be of a date later than Lykourgos, since in his time there was no coinage in Greece. (See below, Chapter XII.) Athenæus (vi. 24) relates, following Posidonius, that it was forbidden to keep silver in the city, and that all the precious metal belonging to the State was given into the custody, first of the Arkadians, and later of the temple at Delphi. Thorax, one of Lysandros' lieutenants, was condemned to death because gold was found in his possession (Plutarch, *Lys.*, 23).

<sup>4</sup> A man's head, beardless and diademed, right profile. Reverse AA (for ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ), and ΔΑ, initials of a magistrate's name. Eagle standing at the right. (Bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,876.)

person could make the excuse of a sacrifice, or of a prolonged hunt, which promised a present for the common table. These repasts (*pheiditia*) were sober;<sup>1</sup> each man furnished an equal share of



COIN OF SPARTA.<sup>2</sup>

barley-flour, wine, cheese, figs, and a small contribution for the purchase of condiments or meat. It was allowable to add game taken in the chase, or portions of sacrifices. The man who was too poor to furnish his share was excluded from the tables

and deprived of his rights as a citizen. The principal dish was the black broth with pork (*μέλας ζωμός*). All were present at these meals, old men and boys, as well as heads of families; conversation was animated, noble deeds were related with approval, and shameful actions were stigmatized.<sup>3</sup>

This custom maintained among the Spartans a feeling of brotherhood which would surprise some of our boldest Utopians, who are so apt to take for novelties the revival of superannuated customs. This one, which had so many disadvantages, had, however, one merit. Those who sat together at table became soldiers of the same section in war, so that each man, fighting under the eyes of his comrades, had the more ardor on this account.<sup>4</sup>

Every citizen was at liberty to chastise any other citizen's children. In case of need it was allowable to borrow a neighbor's slaves, his hunting-dogs, and his horses, on condition of restoring them unharmed. The Spartans even carried the abnegation

<sup>1</sup> According to Athenæus (iv. 19), some persons compensated themselves for the frugality of the common meal by returning home to a private table. The Spartans were accustomed to eat largely. According to Thucydides (iv. 16), the ration of a Lacedæmonian hoplite consisted of two Attic measures of barley-meal, with two cups of wine, and a piece of meat. This largely exceeds the ration of the French soldier. The Spartans, requiring more from personal strength than modern nations do, ate in proportion. Like the Homeric heroes, they took their repasts seated. [The measure of meal was the *choenix*, which is variously estimated at 1½, 2, and 4 pints; the cup of wine, the *kotyle*, is nearly a half pint. — ED.]

<sup>2</sup> ΕΦΟΡΩΝ. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse ΑΑ (for ΑΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ.) Artemis holding a torch, advancing, her dog running beside her. The whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (Bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,890.)

<sup>3</sup> Common repasts were usual not only in Krete, but at Megara, Corinth, and among the Enotrians in Italy.

<sup>4</sup> Dionysius, ii. 23.

of the proprietor to results which Xenophon admires much, but which are singularly repugnant to our ideas as to the sacredness of family ties.<sup>1</sup>

Outside of war and the military exercises whereby he prepared himself for war, the Spartan had no other occupation than the chase, and conversation in public places where he accustomed himself to that brief and sententious manner of speaking which we call *laconic*. At the common meal, however, men made amends for this studied reserve; the conversation was extremely



COOK BEFORE HIS OVEN.<sup>2</sup>

free, but it was expected nothing that was said there should be repeated outside. The presiding officer at the tables often reminded the guests of their duty in this respect.

His duties towards the country being performed, as the Spartan despises labor of the hands and all forms of trade, as he cares neither for philosophy nor the arts nor literature, — although he was indeed taught a little poetry and some very simple music,<sup>3</sup> — he enjoys that idleness which seems to him the appanage of the man of free condition. It is said that a Spartan, on one occasion at Athens, learned that an Athenian had just

<sup>1</sup> Ἐἴ γε μέντοι συμβαίη γεραιῶ νέαν ἔχειν . . . τῷ πρεσβύτῃ ἐποίησεν, ὁποίου ἀνδρὸς σῶμά τε καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγασθείη. τοῦτον ἐπαγομένῳ τεκνοποιήσασθαι . . . Καὶ τούτῳ νόμον ἐποίησεν. ἦντινα (ἄν) εὐτεκνον καὶ γενναῖον ὀρώη. πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι (*Republic of Lacedæmon*, 1, 679, ed. Didot).

<sup>2</sup> Group in terra-cotta from Tanagra (Museum of the Louvre). Cf. O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*, iv., xiii.

<sup>3</sup> They openly disdained the sciences, and in general could neither read nor write, and could rarely count (*Isocr., Panath.*: Plato, *The first Hippias.*)



been fined for idleness. He was greatly astonished, and was very curious to see the man who was punished for having manifested this just disdain of servile labor.

This monotony of life was one of the causes why the Spartans never possessed that supple, ingenious, bold mind, full of



HUNTING SCENE.<sup>2</sup>

resources and quickly familiarizing itself with the unknown, which the Athenians owed to a harmonious union of physical exercises and intellectual culture. Aristotle thinks them rude, Isokrates narrowly escapes calling them Barbarians,<sup>1</sup> and their history shows them extremely superstitious. This was true of many others; but they carried this tendency to an excess, — a very unfortunate character for the wise regulation of life, since it is wisdom left to accident, and the submission of the will to pretended supernatural powers. They were easily confused. This is to be noted even in war: a siege, the ocean, anything to which they are unused, throws them into disorder. At Plataia they were obliged to wait until the Athenians had forced the intrenchments

of Mardonios; the sieges which they undertook are of Homeric length, as Eira and Ithome.

The military organization of the Spartans was the admiration of very competent judges among the ancients, such as Thucydides and Xenophon. A rigorous discipline, fortified by the sentiment of honor; a gradation of officers which, unbroken from the king down to the file-leader, secured regularity of movements; a military organization with a cohesion which only the sacred

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, *passim*; and Isokrates, *Paneg.*, 209

<sup>2</sup> Bronze plaque, discovered in Krete, and now in the Museum of the Louvre. Two hunters, one of whom has his bow in his hand, are disputing about a deer. The two figures, very archaic in style, resemble the most ancient vase-paintings. Cf. Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, pp. 168 *et seq.*

battalion of the Thebans and the Macedonian phalanx had in a higher degree; and, lastly, the imposing aspect of these noble-looking soldiers with grave and settled faces, these ranks bristling with spears, these scarlet mantles which the men wore, the glitter of their brazen helmets and shields, and their advance to the sound of flutes, with a step which, whether slow or hurried, nothing could arrest,—all this wrings from Xenophon a cry of enthusiasm: “It would seem that no country has produced soldiers but Sparta, so completely is the military art in its infancy among other nations.” Other States indeed had citizens who, on occasion, became soldiers; but Sparta alone possessed what we should call a regular army; and it would have made conquest of entire Greece had that ambition which Sparta conceived after Aigospotamoi, been formed by her after Marathon. Plato says of Sparta that it is the camp of an army rather than a city.

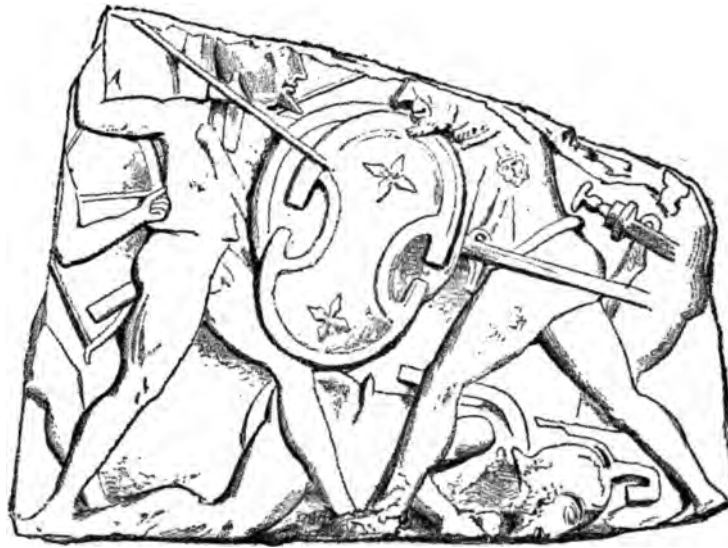
At the same time it is maintained that Lykourgos sought to moderate the warlike spirit of the Spartans, that he forbade them to make war during certain religious festivals, and that he established sacred truces. He gave them at least sagacious maxims as to their wars; for instance: “Do not make war upon the same people too long,” lest you teach them your own methods. “Do not pursue the vanquished enemy too far:” it is base, and sometimes dangerous. “Do not plunder the dead before the battle is over:” this is imprudent.

The constitution of Lykourgos was especially adapted to make heroes, and it made them. To serve his country and die for her, this was the Spartan’s chief ambition. “Victory or death!” was their war-cry; honor, their supreme law.

“That most to be admired in Lykourgos,” says Xenophon, “is that he was able to make a noble death seem preferable to a dishonored life. This great lawgiver provided for the happiness of the brave man, and devoted the coward to infamy. In other States where a man is a coward, nothing more is done than to call him so; he still shares with the brave man in the public deliberations, he sits beside him, he wrestles with him in the games. At Sparta men would be ashamed to sit at table with the coward, to touch his weapons or his hand; in the games neither party will receive him. He has the lowest place at the dances and the dramatic representations. In the street he is pushed aside by younger men. His daughters share in his dis-

grace; they are excluded from public feasts, and can obtain no husbands. Clad in rags, obliged to wear his beard shaven on one side, he is struck with impunity, — unless, indeed, all men scorn to touch him. After this, can we wonder that, at Sparta, men prefer death to a life condemned to opprobrium and infamy?"

Still another peculiarity of Sparta must be mentioned, — the city had no walls. Full of confidence in their own courage and of contempt for their subjects, the Spartans did not think it necessary



SCENE OF COMBAT.<sup>1</sup>

to add to the strength of the hills which were their natural defence. Fortifications, moreover, would have enclosed but a little space, — would have separated a part of the people from the others, and might have impaired the general equality. The ramparts of Sparta were the Taygetos, the Arkadian mountains, the sea, and, most

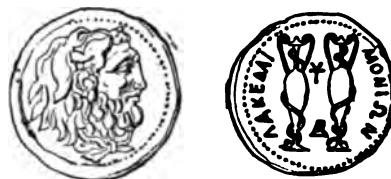
<sup>1</sup> Fragment of a vase of terra-cotta discovered at Magoula in Lakonia, and obtained by Ph. Le Bas; from Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique, Monuments figurés*, pl. 105 (*Revue archéologique*, 1844, p. 722). Four warriors are fighting around a corpse extended on the ground at their feet. Those who occupy the centre are fighting with spears; one is armed with a round shield, the other, with an oval one, cut out on each side. Behind the warrior on the left is an archer. Like the bronze plaque described above, this fragment of very archaic style resembles the most ancient vase-paintings. This also is the case with the little bronze statuette represented at the end of this chapter. Cf. *Mittheilungen d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. ii. (1877) p. 318, No. 19.

of all, — which the poet prefers to walls, however solid, — valiant breasts. The event showed the wisdom of this judgment.

It was not without storms that Lykourgos succeeded in establishing his constitution. At his proposal to introduce frugality by public meals, the rich, already accustomed to luxury and intemperance, made a sedition and endeavored to stone him. They pursued him into a temple; he was wounded, and had one eye destroyed. Patriotism, however, and a sense of the dangers which these dissensions would bring upon the city gained the day, and the laws were accepted.

It is said that after having seen his laws adopted, Lykourgos obtained an oath from the kings, the senators, and all the citizens that nothing should be changed during his absence; and upon this, departed to consult the oracle of Apollo. The Pythia made reply that Sparta should eclipse the renown of all other States, so long as she preserved his laws. The lawgiver sent this message to Sparta, again offered sacrifice, bade adieu to his friends and his son, and, to hold his fellow-citizens forever bound by the oath they had taken, suffered himself to die of hunger.

The best commentary on this system of laws is the history of Sparta; as we read it we judge the tree by its fruits. Lykourgos — and under his name I unite all the laws mentioned above, without investigating whether they are all due to him — Lykourgos manifested rare sagacity in his plans to render Sparta immutable, and her constitution immortal. But there is a great enemy of all things in this world which aspire to be eternal, — the bald-headed, white-bearded old man whom antiquity armed with a scythe. Neither legislators nor poets take him into account; they do not hesitate to say that they have built an edifice more durable than brass: Time moves on, and all that they have done falls into ruin. Sparta braved him for centuries,



COIN OF SPARTA.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bearded head of Herakles with the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse, ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ. Two amphoras, standing, around each of which a serpent is entwined; in the field, two monograms. (Bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,908.)

but by sacrificing the liberty of her citizens, whom she held under the severest discipline. Sparta lasted long, but never truly lived. As soon as that constitution, inflexible, and in certain respects immoral, which was established outside of the habitual conditions under which communities exist, was impaired, her decline was rapid, irrevocable.

Lykourgos had endeavored to fix the condition of the individual and of the land, the number and wealth of the citizens; and at the last, there was no State where the land more continually changed owners, where the condition of the citizens was more diverse, and the number of them more reduced.<sup>1</sup>

He had singularly impaired the rights of private ownership, to strengthen the power of the State; and Aristotle says: "At Sparta the State is poor, the individual rich and avaricious."

He had despised the laws of Nature in the destiny and education of women; and Aristotle, accusing the Spartan women of immorality, of greed, and even of cowardice, sees in their misconduct one of the causes of the fall of Sparta.

He placed the Helots under a rule of terror; they in turn caused their masters endless alarms.

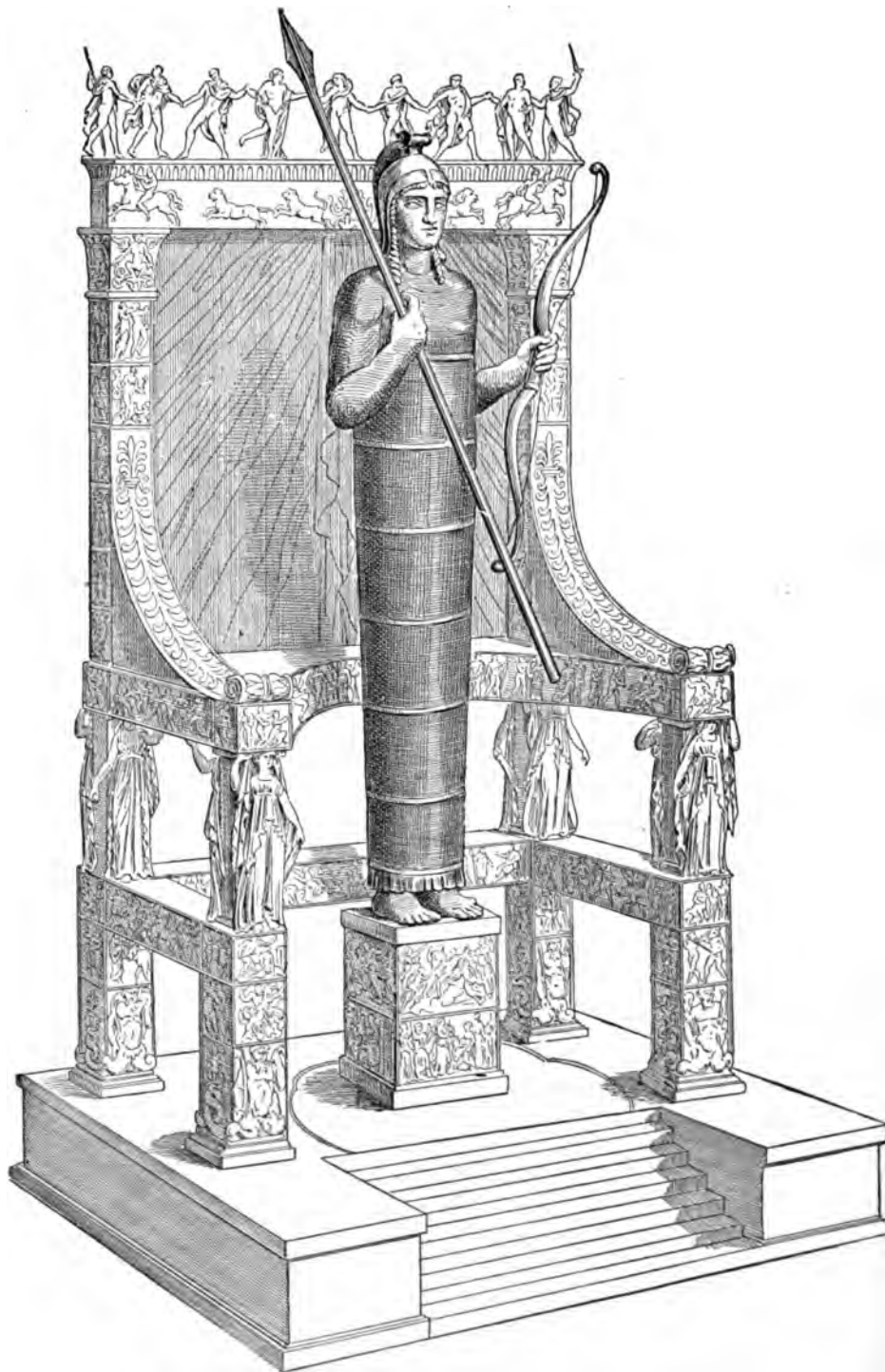
He prohibited long wars, but he had rendered war attractive, by freeing the soldier from the severe rules imposed upon the citizen; and it was by war and by victory that his State perished.

He deprived his fellow-citizens of all liberty of action; to each moment of their lives he assigned its employ; and Sparta, becoming a revolutionary city, perished for lack of men: ὀλιγανδρία.<sup>1</sup>

He had proscribed the precious metals in order to proscribe

<sup>1</sup> The acquisition of territory resulting from successful wars gave the Spartans other lands than the domain originally allotted to each; this property, not being subject to the conditions of the first allotment, could no doubt be distributed by fathers among their younger sons, or given or sold to others. In this way came about a concentration of landed property, which, combining with other causes, enriched some and impoverished others. From the time of Tyrtaios there were in Sparta rich and poor (Aristotle, *Pol.*, v. 6, vol. i. p. 573; also Herodotos, vii. 134; and Thucydides, i. 6). Leichas, who kept open table for strangers attending the festivals, in 420 B. C. had a chariot in the Olympic races; and we know that only the rich could afford this extravagance (Thucydides, v. 49).

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6) says of Sparta: ἀπώλετο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν, and Xenophon, *Hellen.*, iii. 3; *State of Laced.*, 1: ἡ Σπάρτη τῶν ὀλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων ὄσα. This lack of men was not true of the entire population, but of the citizens *pleno jure*. At a period when they were extremely reduced in number, the Aitolians carried off from Lakonia at one time fifty thousand slaves.



THRONE OF APOLLO AT AMYKLAI. (RESTORATION BY QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY.)



corruption; and nowhere in Greece, after the Median wars, was venality so ordinary and so shameless.

He banished the arts,<sup>1</sup> except for his temple of Apollo at Amyklai: in this he succeeded. Pausanias mentions indeed fifty temples in Lacedæmon, but of these not one stone remains. Not art, but a rustic piety constructed them. Apart from a certain taste for music, dancing, and a severe form of poetry, Sparta remains a barbaric city in the midst of Greece, a dark point in the light: she did not even know well her one art, the art of war; at least she always remained ignorant of certain portions of it.

Aristotle says that, made for war, Sparta rusted in time of peace like an unused sword in its scabbard. All her institutions taught her to fight; none to live the life of the mind. With her savage and selfish valor she could gratify her children's pride and win the praises of those who admire strength and success; but what did she do for the world? A machine of war, good in destroying, incapable of production, what did she leave behind her? Not an artist, not a man of genius, not even a ruin that bears her name, so entirely is she dead, as Thucydides predicted;<sup>2</sup> while Athens, calumniated by the rhetoricians of all ages, still shows the splendid ruins of her temples, whence modern art in the two worlds derives inspiration, as modern civilization derives eternal beauty from her poets and her philosophers.

To conclude,—and it is the lesson to be drawn from this history,—vainly did Lykourgos decree for Sparta an equality of

<sup>1</sup> Or at least he forbade them to the Spartans; but artists were sometimes called in from abroad. As early as the sixth century B. C. Bathykles, from Magnesia on the Maiander, carved the colossal throne of Apollo at Amyklai. The artist made no change in the curious statue of the god, a sort of bronze pillar, having a head and arms and feet; but he decorated the throne with statues and bas-reliefs which are described by Pausanias (iii. 18, 6). Later, in memory of the great victory at Aigospotamoi, Aristandros, probably the father of Skopas, represented, in the same temple, Sparta under the figure of a girl playing on the lyre (*Id., ibid.*, 5). The restoration of the throne of Apollo at Amyklai (p. 471) is that made by Quatremère de Quincy in his *Jupiter olympien*, pl. vi. p. 196; pl. vii. p. 210. Attempts of this kind are particularly difficult, and it is not singular that the interpretation of the same text of Pausanias by Quatremère, and by Theod. Pyl in the *Archäologische Zeitung* (1852), pl. xliii. and p. 465, should give rise to differing restorations. It is a matter of certainty that the statue resembled a bronze pillar; of the body, only the head, arms, and feet were visible; it was, moreover, not the work of Bathykles; and it stood upon the tomb (shaped like an altar) of Hyakinthos. On these points Quatremère de Quincy and Pyl agree; their differences concern the throne.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist.*, i. 10.



possessions: a thing contrary to all natural and social conditions, for nowhere in Greece were social inequalities greater.<sup>1</sup> But of his discipline a part long remained; and it was this which gave

Lacedæmon its power and renown, for this singular social institution struck other nations with astonishment.

The Spartans also set a grand example of sobriety and contempt for the passions, for pain and death. They knew how to obey and how to die. To them law was, according to the beautiful words of Pindar and of Montaigne, "the queen and empress of the world."<sup>2</sup> And further let us acknowledge a virtue which does them honor, — respect for those upon whose head years have placed the crown of white hair.



DORIAN WARRIOR.<sup>3</sup>

The aristocratic Boiotian poet, who, like another Dorian, Theognis of Megara, hated the vulgar crowd, admired the city "where reigned under their hereditary kings the wisdom of old men and the lances of the young,

<sup>1</sup> Grote, *History of Greece*, chap. vii. *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων (Pindar, *fragm.* 151, edit. Böckh). Cf. Herodotos, iii. 38. The *Digest* (i. 3, 2) attributes this expression to the Stoic Chrysippos. Montaigne (I. xxii.) calls the law: *La royne et emperière du monde*. Sparta, which we judge so severely, feeling that every nation is responsible towards humanity, has had its warm defenders: Barthélemy, in the *Anacharsis*, has collected the favorable opinions. All the enemies of Athens and a democratic government are partisans of Sparta, — Thucydides, whom Athens punished with a merited exile: Xenophon, so odiously partial to the country of his adoption; Plato, sublime dreamer, whose republic is even more impossible than that of Lykourgos; Isokrates, the Macedonian rhetorician; and others. Those who count Aristotle among the admirers of Sparta cannot have read his *Politics*, book ii. chap. vi. Plato himself in book vii. of his *Republic* is very severe upon the enthusiastic panegyrists of Lykourgos.

<sup>3</sup> Bronze statuette discovered at Dodona, now in the Museum of Berlin; from a photograph. The right arm, lifted, held a lance; with the left the warrior protects himself with a shield of the Boiotian pattern. The statuette strikingly resembles the warriors on the pediments of Aigina, to be given later. Like them, it belongs to the early years of the fifth century B. C.

the choirs of the Muse and a sweet harmony." Simonides recognized more truly the cause of the greatness of Sparta; he calls Lacedæmon "the city which conquers men" (δαμασίμβροτος).<sup>1</sup> This empire over oneself always gives control over others, and both the Spartans long possessed.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.*, 1.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CONQUESTS OF SPARTA BEFORE THE MEDIAN WARS (743-490 B. C.).

#### I. — FIRST MESSENIAN WAR (743-723).<sup>1</sup>

EACH people receives from the soil which bears it, from its national traditions, and from the circumstances amidst which its historical development goes on, a character of its own. So long as it remains faithful to this character, and moves forward in the paths naturally open to it, it is strong; for it obeys influences which render its life regular and powerful, when they unite in harmonious combination, but disturb and exhaust it when they strive one against another. In this latter case, every effort to eliminate the contrary elements and restore a people to its early path, restores to it also its early strength. This was done by Lykourgos at Sparta. Faithless to old institutions and customs born of the soil like the soldiers of Kadmos, the State was perishing in anarchy. As soon as Lykourgos had revived the ancient spirit, prosperity returned to the country.

The Spartans at first were busied in subjugating those of the Lakonians who had not yet been conquered, or had set themselves free. Under Teleklos and his son Alkamenes the inhabitants of Aigys were reduced to slavery, and those of Pharis, Geronthrai, and Amyklai escaped from the Peloponnesos and passed over into Italy, and Helos was completely overthrown (860-815?). At

<sup>1</sup> The date at which the First Messenian War began is given by Pausanias, and it has been understood to last twenty years. Almost all our information relative to these wars is derived from that author, who followed, as to the First War, the rhetorician Myron of Priene, an unknown writer who lived five centuries later than the events he narrates; and as to the second, a poem in honor of Aristomenes, written in the fourth century B. C. by Rhianos of Krete. Hence the character of the marvellous which prevails in this history, which is really only a legend, where truth and falsehood cannot be distinguished.

this period Charilaos, the nephew of Lykourgos, invaded the territory of Argos and attacked Tegea, encouraged to do so by an oracle: "I will give thee Tegea to dance on with beating of the feet, and a fair plain to measure out by the rod." The oracle



BRIDGE OVER THE PAMISOS.<sup>1</sup>

was fulfilled disastrously: Charilaos was made prisoner, the Spartans were loaded with the fetters they had brought, and were obliged to measure the fields of Tegea with a rod, that they might cultivate them for the victors.

This reverse turned the martial ardor of the Spartans in another direction. Mount Taygetos, which near Sparta rises to a height of seven thousand nine hundred feet, is an almost unbroken

<sup>1</sup> From the *Expédition de Morée. Antiquités*, vol. i. pl. 48, and p. 47. The foundations of the present bridge are in part ancient; they are of the same character and belong to the same epoch with the walls of Messenia. This singular bridge is situated at the confluence of the Pamisos and a smaller stream, and consists of three branches meeting in a common centre, and corresponding to the three roads through the plain.

wall, seventy miles in length, of nearly equal height the whole distance, with an abrupt descent on the east, and gentle slopes on the west. Beyond this rocky wall there was a country almost as



COIN OF MESSENA.<sup>1</sup>

extensive and much more pleasing than Lakonia, — mountains less wild, plains more fertile, that of Stenyklaros especially, traversed by the limpid Pamisos, and Makaria, called “the Blessed,” which slopes towards the Messenian

Gulf. The Herakleids had occupied this country at the same time with Lakonia. While the band of Aristodemos were advancing up the valley of the Eurotas, Kresphontes made alliance with the Arkadians, married the daughter of their king, and, supported by this people, entered Messenia with his Dorians and settled in Stenyklaros. This story was too simple for legend. To explain the hostility of Spartans and Messenians, it was related that after the joint conquest of the two countries, Kresphontes by fraud obtained Messenia, much more fertile and rich than Lakonia, which he caused to fall by lot to his two nephews, Prokles and Eurysthenes. The temple of Artemis Limnatis, placed on the boundary between Messenia and Lakonia, recalled to the two States their fraternal origin.



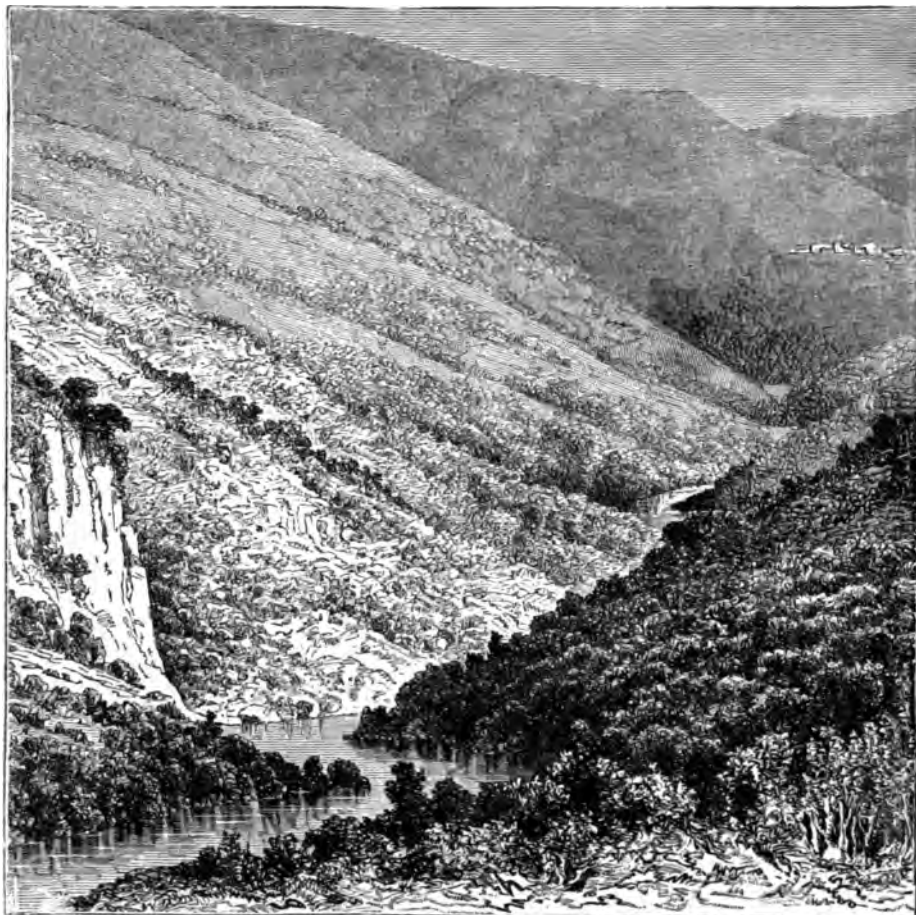
COIN OF MORTHONE.<sup>2</sup>

After a time the kindness that Kresphontes showed towards the people of the country offended the Dorians; they made an insurrection, and killed him and all his sons, except the boy Aipyros, who, when he had grown to man's estate, was restored to the throne by the Arkadians, assisted by the other Dorian kings. Aipyros punished his father's murderers, and acquired so great renown that his descendants, laying aside the name of

<sup>1</sup> Coin of the Messenians *in genere*. Head of Demeter crowned with wheat-ears, right profile; in the field ΣΩ, initials of a magistrate's name. Reverse, ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. ΑΕΩΝ. ΑΙ (initials of a magistrate's name). Zeus Ithomatas standing, hurling the thunderbolt with his right hand, and holding an eagle on the left. Before him a tripod. (Tetradrachm.)

<sup>2</sup> Warrior fighting. Reverse, ΜΟ. (Bronze; No. 1.791 of the Collection de Luynes, in the *Cabinet de France*.)

Herakleids, called themselves Aipytyds instead. They continued his policy, gentle towards the vanquished, lovers of peace, devout towards the gods, and turning the attention of their people to industry and trade, one of them built a seaport, Mothone. An ancient alliance between the Arkadians and the men of Messenia



VALLEY OF THE NEDA.<sup>1</sup>

seems to have existed, and the latter by degrees lost much of their Dorian character; hence, perhaps, the hatred borne them by the Herakleids of Lacedæmon. Five generations later, some Lacedæmonian maidens, being present at the festival of Artemis Limnatis, were outraged by a party of Messenians, and Teleklos, the

<sup>1</sup> From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxvii. 320.

Spartan king, was killed in attempting to protect them. This is the Spartan story. The Messenians asserted that these so-called Spartan maidens were beardless youths in disguise, who had weapons under their garments, and had the intention of killing the most important men among the Messenians who were present at the festival, and seizing upon their country.

In the following generation there was another quarrel. A Messenian of importance, Polychares, whose cattle had been stolen and sold by a Spartan in whose pastures they were feeding according to an agreement, and whose son had afterwards been murdered by the same individual, came to Sparta to claim redress. Obtaining no satisfaction from the authorities, he gave way to his anger, and attempted to kill every Spartan whom he met. Upon this Sparta demanded that Polychares should be given up, and being refused, threatened war; while the Messenians offered to appeal either to the Amphiktyons of Argos or to the Areiopagos at Athens. To neither of these propositions would the Spartans agree, and they treacherously began war, without any previous proclamation by a herald. By a night-attack they captured the town of Ampheia, which was open and ungarrisoned, and massacred nearly all the inhabitants, even those who were sitting as suppliants in the temples of the gods. The town, situated on a spur of Mount Taygetos, above the plain, being near the frontier and well supplied with water, gave the Spartans a very convenient base for future operations (745 B. C.).

The first three years of the war were spent in skirmishes and plundering expeditions on the part of the Spartans, while Euphaes, the Messenian king, was training his people, whom a long peace had rendered unwarlike. In the fourth year a great battle took place. In numbers and skill the two sides were nearly equal, and at nightfall the battle was still indecisive. Meanwhile the slaves of the Messenians, who had followed the army with wood and all things necessary for intrenching a camp, had fortified the rear and flanks of the army with stockades, and during the night they also fortified the front of the camp. Thus when morning dawned, the Spartans found themselves opposed to an intrenched enemy; and as they had no siege machines, they were obliged to abandon the campaign and return home.

The following year another indecisive battle took place ; and so the war dragged on, — very disastrous, however, to the Messenians, who were ruined by the expense of keeping their towns garrisoned, while their slaves constantly deserted to the enemy. Famine, and then a pestilence, wasted them. After deliberation they decided to abandon their towns in the interior and retire to the great natural fortress, Mount Ithome (forty-five hundred feet in height), — an iso-

MOUNT ITHOME.<sup>1</sup>

lated mass commanding the lower plain. They also decided to send a messenger to Delphi. The oracle replied that the Messenians must sacrifice by night to the gods below a maiden selected by lot from the family of the Aipytids, or if this means failed to obtain a victim, then any one who might be offered voluntarily. The lot, being drawn, fell on a daughter of Lykiskos. Upon this, one of the seers declared that the girl did not fulfil the requisite conditions, being an adopted child ; and Lykiskos, without waiting to see if she were saved by this excuse, made his escape to Sparta, taking her with him. Another of the Aipytids, Aristodemos, a very eminent man, and especially

<sup>1</sup> From Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique, Itinéraire*, pl. xix. In the foreground, the wall of Messenia; behind, Mount Ithome; at the right, the sea.



distinguished in war, offered his own daughter. But the girl had been betrothed to a young Messenian, and he would not give her up. Failing to persuade her father, the lover then declared in the assembly that the daughter of Aristodemos did not fulfil the conditions of the oracle, since she was no longer a maiden, but had become secretly his wife. The assertion was false; but doubly exasperated at it, and filled with fury at what he deemed his daughter's dishonor, Aristodemos slew her upon the spot. Upon this the diviners called for another victim, since though Aristodemos had indeed killed his daughter, he had not sacrificed her to the infernal gods, as the Pythia had ordered. A great tumult arose, and the Messenians were about to kill the girl's lover, as he had caused Aristodemos to commit a useless crime and had endangered the community. But at this the king interposed, and persuaded them that what had been done was sufficient; and as all the Aipyrides agreed with him, each being anxious lest his own daughter might be the next victim, the Messenians listened to their king and let the matter drop. Meanwhile the Spartans were filled with consternation, and shrank from resuming the war; six years of peace followed, in which the Messenians made alliance with the Arkadians and Argives, to whom the Spartans were already an object of suspicion: and at the end of that time Theopompos, the Spartan king, led an army to attack Ithome. Confidence in the oracle induced Euphaes to engage in the action before the arrival of his allies; the battle again lasted all day, and was again indecisive. The two kings had met in single combat, and Euphaes, attacking Theopompos with extreme rashness, had been fatally wounded, surviving but a few days; he left no heir, and Aristodemos, although the slayer of his daughter, was elected king.

The new reign was marked by a gentle and conciliatory policy; great attention was paid to the allies, and gifts were sent to influential Arkadians both at Argos and Sikyon. The Arkadians united with the Messenians in pillaging Lakonia; the Argives, however, did not venture openly to declare their hostility to the Lacedæmonians, but waited for a favorable opportunity to open hostilities. This occurred after five years, when both nations, now much weakened by the length and expense of the war, were prepared to take the field again. Both summoned their allies,

Sparta being joined by the Corinthians alone; and Messenia receiving the entire force of the Arkadians and picked men from Argos and Sikyon. Aristodemos made a judicious arrangement of his forces, with Mount Ithome in their rear; and in the ravines of the mountain he posted bands of light troops, who, suddenly appearing when the battle was hottest, fell on the flanks of the Spartan phalanx and inflicted heavy losses.

The day was lost; something like a panic followed; the fleeing Spartans were pursued and harassed by the light-armed troops; and "of the Lacedæmonians who were cut to pieces in the battle," says Pausanias. "I could not ascertain the number, but I believe it was very large."

Much depressed by this sanguinary defeat, the Spartans sent envoys to Delphi. The Pythia recommended stratagem, and the kings and ephors set about imitating the wiliness of Odysseus at Troy. They selected a hundred of their best citizens, publicly banished them as deserters, and sent them to take shelter in Messenia. But Aristodemos at once sent them home again, saying: "The injuries done to the Lacedæmonians are recent, but their craft is old." The Spartans were no more successful in an attempt to detach

the allies of the Messenians. But an oracle again raised their hopes. To the Messenians consulting her, the Pythia had replied: "To those who shall first set up a hundred tripods in the temple of Zeus Ithomatas, the god will give the Messenian land, with fame



COIN OF MESSENEIA.<sup>2</sup>

in war." This temple being within the walls of their own fortress, Ithome, it seemed impossible that any Spartan could fulfil the conditions; and being themselves too poor to offer brass tripods, they at once set about making them of wood. But some person



ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette, discovered at Olympia. From *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. v. pl. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of the Messenians *in genere*. Diademed head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse, ΜΕΣ. ΠΟΛΥΚΑΛΗΣ. Tripod. The whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (Drachma. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1.736.)

from Delphi had communicated the oracle to the Spartans. They at once held a consultation, but could hit upon no plan; "when a man of no great repute," says the historian, "but evidently possessed of good judgment, made a hundred tripods of clay roughly, and took them with him, and nets, as if he were a hunter. Joining himself with some countrymen, he went with them into Ithome; and directly night came, went into the temple and offered these clay tripods to the god." He then returned to tell of his achievement at Sparta.



GREEK WARRIOR.<sup>1</sup>

The sight of these tripods in the temple of their god threw terror into the heart of the Messenians. Aristodemos endeavored to cheer them, and encouraged them to offer also their wooden tripods to Zeus; but he was perfectly aware himself that the time appointed for the ruin of his people had come. On one occasion, as he was about to sacrifice in the temple, the rams of their own accord violently dashed their heads against the altar, and were killed by the blow. Another alarming thing occurred. Some dogs assembled in the same place and howled all night, and finally went off to the Spartan camp. These omens filled Aristodemos with anxiety, and a further intimation of evil finally reduced him to despair. He dreamed that he was about to go into battle, and stood, fully armed, before a table on which lay the entrails of victims ready to be examined for an omen, when suddenly his daughter appeared to him, clad in black, and bleeding from his murderous weapon. She threw away what was on the table, and took from her father his armor and his weapons, and put upon him the golden crown and the white robe in which the Messenians array their illustrious dead for burial. "Thereupon Aristodemos, laying to heart his domestic misfortunes, that he had been his daughter's murderer to no purpose, and seeing no hope of safety for his country, cut his throat at his daughter's grave, being such a one as would, in all human calculation, have saved

<sup>1</sup> Statuette of bronze found at Olympia. From *Die Ausgrabungen*, etc., vol. v. pl. xxvii.

his country, had not fortune brought to nothing all his plans and actions.”<sup>1</sup> He had reigned nearly seven years. Deprived of this intrepid chief, and threatened by famine as well as by the Spartans, the Messenians still held out for about five months, but were finally obliged to yield (723 B. C.). All who had friends at Sikyon, at Argos, or among the Arkadians, took shelter with them; those of the priestly race who performed the mysteries to the Great Goddesses went to Eleusis. The Spartans razed Ithome



MOTHONE (MODON).<sup>2</sup>

to the ground, and afterwards attacked and captured the other cities, with the exception, perhaps, of Mothone and Pylos. They bound the Messenians by an oath never to revolt, and “as asses, worn out by long-continued toil, they were required to carry to their masters half of all the fruit the country yields.” They were required to come to Sparta and attend, wearing black robes, on occasion of public funerals of distinguished men; “they and their wives together wailing for their masters, when baleful death seized on any one” (Tyrtaios).

It was inevitable that, during this long war, the kings at Sparta should obtain an authority which neither the constitution nor the customs of the country gave them. A movement of

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, iv. 9-13.

<sup>2</sup> View of Modon, from Stackelberg, *La Grèce*, etc. The view is taken from the E. S. E. At the left is one of the Oinoussian Islands.

centralization took place in the government. To fill the gaps in the Spartan ranks made by battle, political rights had been granted to many Lakonians who married the widows of the dead warriors. But at the same time the old aristocracy fortified itself against the new comers by decreeing that the kings and the senate should have a right to annul the decisions of the assembly when its vote appeared contrary to the welfare of the State, and the Delphian oracle had sanctioned this regulation with its consecrated authority. So long as the war lasted, this situation could continue; but with the return of peace, the new citizens came back into the city in force. The aristocracy was able to rid itself of some of these individuals by an expedient very common in Greece, and later also in Rome, but entirely hostile to the spirit of the Spartan constitution: namely, by sending a colony to Tarentum.<sup>1</sup> It was promised to the emigrants, called, disdainfully, the Parthenians, "sons of girls," that if the expedition did not succeed, they should have a fifth part of the lands of Messenia (708 B. C.). Those who remained in Sparta were enraged at the position of inferiority in which they found themselves; tumults broke out, in one of which Polydoros, the king, was slain. A monument erected to his murderer in the city of Sparta, and the rights of surveillance and control over the acts of the king and senate, with which the ephors were invested, prove the success of the popular insurrection. Cicero compares the ephors to the Roman tribunes, and a certain similarity does indeed exist. Like the latter, the ephors were taken from the people, frequently from the lowest rank; and they had, as their name indicates,—*ephoroi*, "overseers,"—a right of surveillance over the constitution and over public morals. We shall see what authority these officers later attained.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tradition, which seeks to explain all things, related that, while the Spartans were detained away from home for many years by the First Messenian War, their wives contracted new marriages with those who were not bound by oath to remain till the war was ended. From these illegal unions were born a generation who were called, contemptuously, *Partheniai*, and who, later, unable to endure their degraded position at home, quitted Lakonia, under the leadership of Phalanthos. These are said to have been the founders of the great Spartan colony (707 B. C.).

<sup>2</sup> The origin of this office is not known. It was probably anterior to *Hykourgos*, and the ephors were at first only magistrates of a very inferior order; but the elective character of the office gave the power which it always gives, and, like the tribunes at Rome, by degrees they secured the supreme authority in the State. Polybius (book xxiv., chap. viii.) represents the kings as subordinated to the ephors, who on more than one occasion threw them into prison,

II. — SECOND MESSENIAN WAR (645–628).<sup>1</sup>

MEANTIME a new generation had grown up in Messenia, with the ever-present memory of the brilliant exploits and the misfortunes of their fathers. Impatient of the shameful yoke which weighed upon them, they awaited only a chief and an occasion.

At this time there lived in Andania a young warrior of the race of Aipyros, Aristomenes by name. Resolved to restore his people to the rank whence they had fallen, he made unremitting efforts to reanimate the courage of the banished and excite the resentment of the oppressed. He attached to his cause Messenia's former allies, Argos, Sikyon, and the Arkadians. The inhabitants of Pisatis and of Triphylia promised aid. It was proposed to proclaim Aristomenes king, but he would accept only the title of general. The Second Messenian War began thirty-nine years after the capture of Ithome.

The first battle took place in the plain of Derai, neither side having their allies with them; the victory belonged clearly to neither. Many slight engagements proved favorable to the Messenians, and Aristomenes exhibited extreme courage and daring. To astonish the enemy by a bold stroke, he went one night alone across Mount Taygetos, entered Sparta, and hung up in the temple of Athene Chalkioikos a shield bearing the inscription, "Aristomenes offers this to the goddess from Spartan spoils." Sparta, in alarm, consulted the oracle of Delphi, and the god replied that

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

and had the right to remain seated in their presence, while all other citizens were expected to stand. They held all other authority in check, while to their own there were no precise limits. They commanded the three hundred young men to whom was committed the preservation of public order in Lakonia, and they had cognizance, as judges, of certain matters. When the ephors were at the height of their power, Sparta was really a State despotically governed by rulers annually elected from among the people; but, it must be remembered, the people at this time — the citizens having political rights — numbered scarcely ten thousand men.

<sup>1</sup> Dates doubtful, but accepted by Curtius.

<sup>2</sup> Athene Chalkioikos. Athene, helmeted, as a boundary stone, facing to the right; she holds in the right hand a javelin, and a shield in the left. Legend: ΑΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ; in the field two monograms, mark of the mint. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of the Emperor Gallienus.)

an Athenian would give them good advice. Athens, neither wishing that the Lacedæmonians should greatly enlarge their territory, nor, on the other hand, daring to disobey the Pythia, sent to Sparta Tyrtaios, a lame schoolmaster, who was considered a person of low intelligence.<sup>1</sup> But this man of inferior mind was a poet. He sang, and his gallant poetry reanimated the courage of all.

His burning words were worth more than the calm experience of an able general. We must also note that Sparta received more



GOLD COIN.<sup>2</sup>

material aid from Corinth and from the Lepreans, enemies of Elis; and Messenia was reinforced by the return of her exiles, among others the priests who had taken refuge at Eleusis. The whole of the Peloponnesos, the Achæians only excepted, took

part in this final struggle. A year after the battle of Derai, the Messenians and Spartans, reinforced by all the allies on both sides, met in the plain of Stenyklaros, near the village called "The Boar's Memorial." This time the personal courage and audacity of Aristomenes secured the victory to the Messenians. "He himself rushed into the thick of the fight, and hurried on, charging those who were left, until he had thoroughly beaten the Lacedæmonian force. But near a wild pear-tree Theoklos, the Messenian seer, tried to prevent his passing, saying that Kastor and Polydeukes were seated in the pear-tree. But Aristomenes, giving way to passion, and not hearing all the words of the seer, when he got to the pear-tree dropped his shield; and this loss of his gave the Lacedæmonians breathing time to stop from their flight, for he lost some time vainly trying to find his shield." When the conqueror returned to Andania, the women covered him with ribbons,

<sup>1</sup> Almost all the ancient writers represent Tyrtaios as a citizen of Athens; a few speak of him as a man of Miletos: his elegies are in the Ionian dialect. It is doubtful whether the Spartans applied to the Athenians for a general, but not so that they called from Athens a poet famous for his songs. At an earlier period they had invited Terpander of Lesbos and Thaletas of Krete to bring them songs for the festivals of Apollo Karneios and for the *gymnopaïdia*, or "dances of naked youths."

<sup>2</sup> The Dioskouroi, on a coin of Tarentum. Diademed head of Demeter, wearing a light veil; below, ΑΙΚΟΜ. (*Aikómēdos*), a magistrate's name. Reverse, ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΙ. The Dioskouroi, Kastor and Polydeukes, on horseback. One of them carries a wreath, and the other a palm-branch to which are attached ribbons and a wreath. (Gold coin in the Collection de Luynes, in the *Cabinet de France*.)



CARYATID (STATUE IN THE VATICAN. BRACCIO NUOVO, NO. 5).

*From a photograph.*





and threw flowers before him, saluting him in a song whose words were long remembered: "Across the field and to the summit of the mountain Aristomenes pursued the Spartans."

After this victory, which drove back the enemy into the valley of the Eurotas, the allies of Messenia returned home; while Aristomenes, with a levy of Messenians and his own body-guard, followed up his successes with raids into Lakonia. Once, by night, he fell suddenly upon Pharis and plundered it, returning home with the spoils. Again, he was proposing to enter Sparta in the same way, when he was prevented by the apparition of Helen and her brothers; whereupon he lay in ambush and captured a troop of maidens at Karyai, who were dancing in honor of Artemis, and held them for ransom.<sup>1</sup> At Argila he was less fortunate.

"Then Aristomenes and his soldiers, knowing that the women were keeping festival in the temple of Demeter, made an attempt to seize them; but as these women, inspired by the goddess, made a bold defence, most of the Messenians were wounded with the knives used in the temple in sacrificing victims, and with the sharp-pointed spits on which the flesh was roasted. Aristomenes himself, struck with a torch, was taken alive. However, he escaped the same night, and it is said that Archidameia, the



DORIAN DANCING GIRL.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is related by Vitruvius (i. 1) that to punish an act of treason on the part of the city of Karyai, all the men were killed, all the women sold, and to commemorate their disgrace, representations of the latter were used in architecture instead of columns. This, of course, is absolutely fictitious; but the caryatides are one of the most elegant forms of architectural ornamentation. On p. 489 is represented one of the six in the Pandrosion of Athens. The head and lower part of the arms are restorations by Thorwaldsen.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze statue in the Museum of Naples, from a photograph. The girl grasps and lifts

priestess of Demeter, an old sweetheart of his, was guilty of letting him escape."

Still another poetic incident, since what we are relating is rather legend than history.

"On one occasion, in time of truce, seven Kretan bowmen lay in wait for Aristomenes, and took him prisoner and bound him with the bands of their quivers. And it was evening, and two of the Kretans went to Sparta to announce the capture of Aristomenes, while the remaining five, with their captive, sought shelter in a farm in Messenia, where a fatherless maiden lived with her mother. The night before, this maiden had had a dream: Some wolves brought a lion to the farm bound and without claws; and she freed the lion from its bonds and got it claws, and then the wolves were torn in pieces by it. Now when the Kretans brought in Aristomenes, the maiden remembered her dream, and asked her mother who he was; and when she learned, she took courage, and looking earnestly at him, she understood the meaning of the dream. She therefore poured out wine freely for the Kretans till drink overpowered them, and then took away the sword of the one who was fastest asleep. Then she cut the bonds of Aristomenes, and he took the sword and killed all five. In recompense for which Aristomenes gave her one of his sons for a husband."

Tyrtaios, meanwhile, fulfilled his duty as a general after a poetic fashion: his orders were war-songs, and they were also lessons in discipline and tactics.

While Sparta thus restored discipline in her army, she also prepared by treachery to obtain the victory over the Messenians. "The Spartans," says Pausanias (IV. xvii.), "are the first we know of that bribed an enemy, and the first that made renown in arms a thing to be purchased with money." Aristokrates, the general in command of the Arkadian allies, received money from Sparta and agreed to abandon the Messenians in the battle which was about to take place. The engagement was at a place called

her robe with the left hand, and has the right arm lifted and slightly curved around her head. This statue, found at Herculaneum, was part of a group including five other figures. O. Rayet regards them as "Dorian dancing-girls, probably Spartans, possibly Caryatides." Grave and slow dances were not unknown in Greece, such as the *ἐμμελεια*, which consisted in a succession of gestures and poses. Many of the sacred dances, which in the sacrifices accompanied the singing of hymns, belonged to the Peloponnesos, and of these by far the most celebrated were those occurring yearly at Karyai, in the sacred grove of Artemis Karyatis (O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique. Danseuses*).

The Great Trench; and at the moment when both sides were advancing, Aristokrates addressed his troops, telling them they were in great danger, for they had no means of retreat in case they should be defeated, and, moreover, that the omens were unfavorable. He therefore withdrew them, leaving the Messenian centre and left wing exposed; and to complete the confusion, retreated through the Messenian lines. Aristomenes and his troops bravely stood their ground until the slaughter was so great that they were obliged to yield. After the battle Aristomenes collected the Messenian fugitives, and, advising them to abandon the open country, took refuge with them in Mount Eira, as in the preceding war Mount Ithome had afforded shelter. Thither they were followed by the enemy, and besieged for eleven years. To starve them out, the Spartans made a decree that Messenia and the adjacent parts of Lakonia should not be cultivated till the close of the war. From that time there was scarcity in Sparta, and much disturbance was made by the farmers, who were compelled to leave their fields uncultivated; but their displeasure was checked by the verses of Tyrtaios.

Aristomenes from time to time continued to make raids upon the enemy, returning safely to his mountain stronghold. He did great damage, overrunning the whole country, until on one occasion, venturing to attack more than half the Spartan army, under both their kings, he was wounded, and, being stunned by a blow on the head, was taken, together with fifty of his men. They were all thrown into the *Keaulas*,<sup>1</sup> a subterranean prison, probably a natural cavern, into which malefactors at Sparta were usually thrown. The rest of the prisoners were killed instantaneously by the fall, but Aristomenes, supported by an eagle, the legend says, reached the bottom in safety. Here for three days he sat, his head wrapped in his mantle, expecting death, which now seemed to be certain. On the third day he heard a noise, he looked, and in the darkness could descry a fox preying on the bodies of the dead Messenians. Reflecting that there must be an outlet somewhere through which the animal had entered, he waited till it came near him, then held out his mantle. The

<sup>1</sup> O. Rayet believes that he has discovered this cavern. See Couat, *La poésie alexandrine*, p. 344, No. 2.

fox seized it with his teeth, and ran away. Aristomenes held fast to the other end of the mantle, and ran with the fox. The path was rough, but at last they came to a little hole through which the daylight glimmered. Aristomenes let go his guide, which escaped to its den, and the Messenian with his hands soon enlarged the hole so that he himself could pass through it. He returned to Eira, and renewed his plundering expeditions. He made a successful raid upon the Corinthian allies of Sparta, who were on their way to attack Eira, and made great slaughter among them, so that the Spartans were compelled to admit that Aristomenes, whom they believed dead, was alive and in the field. This expedition enabled him to offer for the second time to Zeus of Ithome the sacrifice called *hekatomphoneia*; this sacrifice could be made only by a Messenian who had killed with his own hand a hundred enemies.

The time approached, however, when by the will of the gods Eira must fall. The Pythia had said: "When the he-goat drinks of the stream of Neda, I cease to guard Messenia." The Neda is a little stream which flows near Mount Eira; and to prevent the fulfilment of the condition of danger, all the he-goats were at once removed from the region. But the god had quite a different meaning: the wild fig-tree is called by the Messenians *trajos*, that is, the he-goat. Now there was one of these trees on the banks of the Neda which did not grow upright, but bent to the stream, so that its topmost boughs touched the water. The seer Theoklos, having noticed this, said nothing of it publicly, but led Aristomenes to the fig-tree, and pointed out to him that their period of safety was passed. Aristomenes at once recognized that the case was hopeless; but to provide, if possible, for the return of the Messenians of some future generation, he buried the sacred records of the country in the wildest and most unfrequented part of Mount Ithome, praying to Zeus and the gods who had hitherto been friendly to be witnesses of this deposit, and not allow the Spartans to rob them of this their only hope of returning at some future day.

Shortly after this, on a stormy night when the ramparts of Eira were left unguarded, owing to the extreme severity of the weather, the opportunity was made known by a deserter to the

general of the besieging army. The Spartans at once advanced, and in the darkness entered the city. Aristomenes and Theoklos were the first to become aware of what had happened. They called the Messenians to arms, and exhorted them to fight valiantly, concealing what they knew by the oracle to be the fact, that the last hour for Messenia had come. During the night little was done on either side, for the attacking party were hindered



GORGES AND FALL OF THE NEDA.<sup>1</sup>

by their ignorance of the ground and the boldness of Aristomenes, and the Messenians were rather backward in responding to the appeal of their generals, while, if any one lighted a torch, the rain immediately put it out.

For three days the ground was disputed foot by foot, in the midst of incessant thunder and lightning and heavy rain. The flashes being on their right, the Spartans were encouraged thereby, and they also had the advantage of numbers. The Messenians

<sup>1</sup> From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxvii. 319.

fought with the courage of despair, even the women mingling in the conflict. At last Theoklos, bidding Aristomenes cease from



BRONZE STATUE.<sup>1</sup>

the hopeless strife, himself rushed upon the enemy, and having killed several, was at last fatally wounded. Upon this Aristomenes bade his countrymen desist; he organized them in a body, with the women and children inside the lines, and mutely asking for a passage through the Spartan army, was allowed to retire from the fortress, the besiegers being themselves willing, and being ordered by their diviners to let the defeated Messenians pass unmolested.

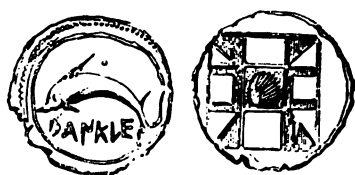
The fugitives from Eira were received by their allies, the Arkadians, with great hospitality, and made welcome to dwell in the cities of Arkadia; but the indefati-

gable Aristomenes was not disposed to a life of quiet. He selected five hundred of the bravest of his countrymen, and proposed to them a plan to attack Sparta. "If we should capture the city," he said, "we shall be able to exchange it for Messenia; and if we fail, we shall die together, having done deeds that posterity will not forget." His words were received with enthusiasm, and three hundred Arkadians also joined in his desperate undertaking. Their departure was delayed till the second day, the omens not being auspicious; and in the meantime the plan was betrayed to the Spartans by the treacherous Aristokrates. "Knowledge of his perfidy coming to the Arkadians, they began to stone Aristokrates, and called on the Messenians to do the same. The latter looked to their leader for direction; but Aristomenes turned his eyes to the ground and wept. So the Arkadians stoned Aristokrates to death, and cast him unburied out of their borders, and put up a

<sup>1</sup> Zeus brandishing the thunderbolt. Bronze statue found at Olympia, from *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. iv. pl. xxiv. The god brandishes the thunderbolt with his right hand, and on his left hand is perched the eagle.

pillar in the temple of the Lykaian Zeus, with this inscription: 'Time is sure to bring justice at last to an unjust king; time, with the assistance of Zeus, has found out Messenia's traitor. It is difficult for a perjured man to escape the god. Hail, royal Zeus, and save Arkadia.'"

Those of the Messenians who had been taken prisoners were incorporated among the Helots; but the people of Pylos and Mothone and all the seaport towns made their way by sea to Kyllene in Elis. Thence they sent to

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

the Messenians who were in Arkadia, proposing to them to establish a colony in some foreign land, and asking Aristomenes to be the leader of the new enterprise. The hero replied that while he lived he himself should continue to fight against the enemies of his country, and was certain that he should yet do Sparta much harm. But he gave them his son Gorgos as leader, under whose guidance they went as far as Rhégium in Italy, where, after the first war, many Messenian exiles had taken shelter. Two centuries later, Anaxilaos, tyrant of Rhégium, himself a Messenian, seized upon Zankle in Sicily, and established there the descendants of the exiles, who, in memory of the ancestral home, changed the name to Messana, or Messene, which is to this day perpetuated as Messina.

SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Rhégium. Lion's head, front view: at the left, an olive-branch; reverse, *RECINOΣ* (in retrograde letters). Bearded figure seated, leaning on a long sceptre; under the seat a stork. The whole surrounded with an olive-wreath.

<sup>2</sup> Archaic coin of Zankle. Dolphin; underneath, the inscription *DANKVE*. The whole in a circle, beaded. Reverse: incused square in nine compartments; in the central one, a shell; in the others, diagonal lines.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of Messana (Zankle). Lion's head, front view. Reverse, *MESSENION*. Calf's head, left side.



Not long after this, Aristomenes was at Delphi, consulting the oracle, when a king from the Island of Rhodes came to seek advice as to the choice of a wife. The Pythia, bidding him marry the daughter of the noblest of the Greeks, the Rhodian at once sued for the hand of the third daughter of Aristomenes, and as a result of this marriage, the Messenian hero visited Rhodes. He carried with him his hatred of Sparta, and it was

TETRADRACHM.<sup>1</sup>

his intention to seek to stir up enemies against her in Asia, when death put an end to his schemes. His people remained, like himself, faithful to the memory of their lost country, and were never reconciled with those who had deprived

them so unjustly of their homes and ancestral tombs and national existence. All the enemies of Sparta, Athenian or Theban, found them ready in any place and at any time to fight against the perpetual enemy; and when Sparta and even Greece had ceased to be, the last of the Messenians still repeated the old song, nine centuries after the fall of Eira: "Across the fields of Stenyklaros, and to the summit of the mountain, Aristomenes pursued the Spartans."

### III.—WARS OF SPARTA AGAINST TEGEA AND ARGOS.

By the legislation of Lykourgos and the conquest of Messenia, Sparta had become the most powerful State of the Peloponnesus. But after her great effort against the Messenians she had need of repose. It was not until 620 B. C. that she took up arms again and attacked the Tegeans, who had formerly inflicted upon her humiliating defeats. This war was destined to last, with long intervals, for more than sixty years, and during the earlier period of it Sparta encountered only reverses.

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Rhodes. Sun's face, hair as rays. Reverse: POΔION A rose, emblem of the name of the island; on the same stem, a rosebud; in the field a trident, and the letter I, mark of the mint.

Here we have one of those traditions which Herodotos loves, and repeats so well. The Pythia replied to inquiries made by the Spartans as to this war, that they should be victorious when they had brought back the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. But as they were unable to find the sepulchre of Orestes, they sent again to inquire where the hero lay buried. "In the level plain of Arkadia lies Tegea." was the reply, "where two winds by hard compulsion blow, where stroke answers to stroke, and woe lies on woe: there, the life-engendering earth contains Agamemnon's son: convey him home, and you will be victorious over Tegea." Unremitting search seemed to bring them no nearer to the dis-

DRACHMA.<sup>1</sup>HUMAN BONE, WITH GOLD RIBBON.<sup>2</sup>

covery, until a Spartan named Lichas obtained a clew. He chanced to enter a blacksmith's shop at Tegea; and the smith, in conversation, mentioned to him that as he was digging near the forge, to sink a well, he had come upon a coffin seven cubits long. Lichas at once recalls the words of the oracle: in the two winds blowing by hard compulsion, he recognized the blasts of the two bellows; in the stroke answering stroke, the anvil and hammer; and in the iron which lay on the anvil, the woe on woe,—assuming that the use of iron had been for the injury of mankind: the gigantic coffin must therefore be that of Orestes. He hastens home to Sparta and makes known his discovery; the magistrates feign to exile him, that no suspicion may be aroused. He returns to Tegea.

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Tegea in Arkadia. Casqued head of Athene, right profile. Reverse: TEGETAN. Warrior with shield, helmet, and sword, fighting.

<sup>2</sup> From Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, fig. 459, pp. 583-584. The bone was discovered in the fifth tomb. A broad gold ribbon, with raised rosettes, was still attached to it. See above, p. 238, note 1.

after much negotiation is able to hire the smithy, and at once disinters the precious relic, which he carries in triumph to Sparta. From this time the Spartans believed that they should be victorious, and they were so. Tegea preserved her territory and her laws, but fell to the rank of an ally in war, with only the barren honor of occupying the right wing in battle.

Before or during this war many districts peopled with Arkadians were added to the territory of Sparta. Thus the supremacy formerly held by the Pelopids in the peninsula was re-established, to the profit of the Spartans: in obtaining possession of the bones of Orestes this people established their position as the heirs of Agamemnon, the great king of the Homeric age.

CORNELIAN.<sup>1</sup>

Between Argos and Sparta the point in dispute was the possession of Thyrea and Kynouria. This mountainous country would have been, in the possession of the Argives, a useful barrier against the incursions of Sparta; moreover it gave them

communication with the rest of their territory, for they possessed the entire eastern coast of Lakonia as far as Cape Malea, and the adjacent islands as far as Kythera. To spare further bloodshed, the two nations agreed, about 547 B. C., to choose each three hundred combatants, and Kynouria was to be the prize of the victory. The battle lasted all one day. Othryades alone survived of the Spartans, but grievously wounded and lying among the dead; on the side of the Argives two warriors, Alkenor and Chromios, were unhurt. Seeing no enemies opposed to them, they made haste to report to their fellow-citizens the news of the Argive victory. During their absence Othryades, making a final effort, collected together in a heap the weapons

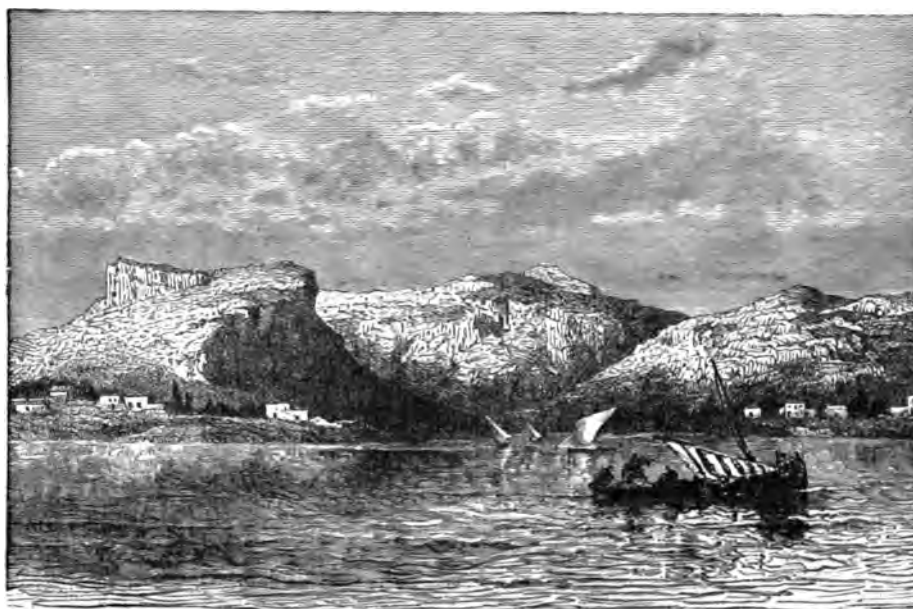
SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

ades alone survived of the Spartans, but grievously wounded and lying among the dead; on the side of the Argives two warriors, Alkenor and Chromios, were unhurt. Seeing no enemies opposed to them, they made haste to report to their fellow-citizens the news of the Argive victory. During their absence Othryades, making a final effort, collected together in a heap the weapons

<sup>1</sup> The dying Othryades. The Spartan warrior is represented sinking to the ground, his shield on his left arm; the weapon which wounded him is still in his breast. With the right hand he writes on a large shield the word VICT. At his side is the dead body of an enemy, and farther away may be seen the head of another enemy. (Engraved stone, cornelian, 11 millim. by 14; No. 117 of the Collection de Luynes in the *Cabinet de France*.)

<sup>2</sup> Victory erecting a trophy. Victory, standing, erecting a trophy; she holds in her right hand a hammer, in her left, a nail. The trophy consists of a post, with greaves fastened to it, and on the top a helmet, a cuirass, and a shield: in the field the *triquetra*, emblem of Sicily; legend, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ. (Reverse of a silver coin of Agathokles, king of Syracuse.)

of the enemy, and then, unwilling to survive his companions, put an end to his own life. On the following day both sides claimed the victory,—the Argives because they had had the larger number of survivors; the Spartans because their one survivor had kept the field and gained possession of the enemy's weapons. A second battle followed, to decide the matter, and after many had fallen on both sides, the Spartans were victorious. The Argives yielded the countries in dispute, and probably also the eastern coast of Lakonia, which from that time appears to have made part of the Lacedæmonian territory.

AMETHYST.<sup>1</sup>VIEW OF KYTHERA.<sup>2</sup>

The war with Argos was renewed later, but always to the advantage of the Spartans. In 514 B. C. their king Kleomenes gained near Tiryns a great victory over the Argives, advancing as far as the gates of their city and burning the sacred grove; he would have taken Argos had not the non-combatants within the

<sup>1</sup> Aphrodite emerging from the waves. Aphrodite Anadyomene emerging from the waves, wringing her hair. (Engraved amethyst, 12 millim. by 10. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,549 of the Catalogue.)

<sup>2</sup> From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxii. 3.

walls, boys and old men, and women even, stimulated by the poetess Telesilla, made a valiant defence. Kleomenes also made two invasions of Attika: the first, by order of the oracle of Delphi, to expel the Peisistratids; the second, to establish an aristocratic government in Athens. Finally, in 491, the authority of Sparta, going beyond the boundaries of the peninsula, extended even to Aigina, whose inhabitants gave hostages.

HEAD OF ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>

Sparta had further seized upon another outpost of the Peloponnesos, — the Island of Kythera, south of Cape Malea. The island is arid and rocky. Legend makes it the spot where Aphrodite touched land, emerging from the waves; but the story adds that the goddess of love quickly made her escape to Cyprus. Merchant vessels coming from Egypt and Africa found it an excellent station; accordingly, the Spartans maintained a garrison in the citadel, and annually sent a governor to the island.

Sparta was mistress in her own right of two fifths of the Peloponnesos,<sup>2</sup> and she was feared or obeyed in the rest; all the States responded to her call when she invited them to join her

<sup>1</sup> Bronze discovered at Olympia, from *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. iii. pl. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> The territory of Sparta extended on the side of Argos to the River Tanos (Luku); and on the side of Elis, to the Neda (Buzi).

in any foreign war. She was the first military power of Greece; her fame extended even into Asia: for at the time of the battle of the Six Hundred, Croesus, king of Lydia, had sent an embassy to solicit her aid, and she was making ready to furnish him with vessels and soldiers, when news came of the fall of Sardis. To her, also, appealed the victims of Polykrates, the Samian exile Maiandrios, the Ionians against Persia, Plataia, when menaced by Thebes, and, lastly, Athens, wishing vengeance upon Aigina. We see, therefore, that, before the Median wars, she was recognized both by Greeks and Barbarians as the head of Hellas.

## CHAPTER IX.

### ATHENS AND THE CONSTITUTION OF SOLON.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. — ATTIKA AND HER KINGS.

THE little country which is separated by rugged mountains from Central Greece, and is itself a promontory stretching out into the Ægæan Sea, flanked on the right by long Euboiā, on the left by the islands of Salamis and Aigina, is Attika, — the spot on the world's surface most justly celebrated in the history of the human mind. It is divided into three semicircular basins, — the plains of Eleusis, of Athens, and of Marathon, which seem to be shut in on all sides by the mountains and the sea; but there are natural highways here and there, communication is not difficult, and although there is diversity, as we have said, there is also unity in the conformation of Attika. Its extent in square miles is less than half that of the smallest French Department, and its stony soil has not, except at a few points, the rich vegetation of its neighbor Boiotia, although legend makes it the birth-place of Triptolemos who invented agriculture, and although, next to Athene, its most honored divinity was Demeter: a little wheat, rather more barley, figs, vines, olive-trees, bees of Hymettos,<sup>2</sup> quarries of Pentelikan marble, silver mines of Laureion, and the abundant fisheries of the coast, — this, with its beauty, severe but refined and delicate, is the entire wealth of Attika, unless we count the most fruitful and glorious of all endowments, — the genius of its people.

<sup>1</sup> In respect to the natural advantages of Attika, see Xenophon, *Resources of Attika*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks having no sugar, honey was an important commodity with them, for they employed it in pastry, and even in the preparation of meats; they regarded it, moreover, as an article of food necessary for old people, and adapted to prolong life (Athenæus, ii. 7; iii. 25).

# ATTIKA







This genius — formed by the influence of the locality, of historic circumstances, and of a climate which made the spring so delightful, the winter so mild — differs profoundly from the Spartan



SPRING, AND THE RETURN OF THE SWALLOW.<sup>1</sup>

character: it was open and expansive as the wide horizon which from the height of the Akropolis allows the eye to wander far over the Ægean Sea;<sup>2</sup> keen, vivacious as the sea-breeze which

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. ii. pl. xxiv. Three persons, an ephebos, an old man, and a boy, are all pointing to a swallow, the messenger of spring, and the following conversation goes on among them. The ephebos: "Look! a swallow!" (Ἴδοῦ χειλιῶν). The old man: "Yes, by Herakles!" (Νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα). The boy: "There she is!" (Αὐτῇ). And the old man answers: "Spring has come." ("Ἐὰρ ἤδη). The return of the swallow, "the messenger of spring," gave occasion to rejoicings, in which the children especially took part; at Rhodes, for example, they went from house to house singing the arrival of the swallow. Athenæus (vii. 360 c) gives us their song: "She is come, she is come, the swallow, bringing beautiful seasons and beautiful years, white-breasted, black-backed!" The children also collected money. Cf. Aristophanes, *The Knights*, 416-418.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *The State of Athens*, ii. 7, says: "Having command of the sea, they know how to speak all languages; they study manners and customs the most diverse; and they have introduced among themselves a happy union of what they find to be best among the Greeks and the Barbarians."

blows across the empurpled hills of Attika;<sup>1</sup> inquisitive, bold, industrious, as is often the case where a sea-coast receives many foreign visitors, and where a country is by no means sufficient for itself; lastly, kept always on the alert by the multitude of impressions received in that pure and resonant atmosphere, not by day alone, but also in those transparent nights, which are not darkness, but only the absence of the sun.<sup>2</sup> The Athenians were temperate, owing to the very nature of their ground, where nothing grew abundantly; but — what is better — they were temperate in mind. With this people of ingenious and delicate thought, of full and active life, there was nothing extravagant or excessive; all was accuracy, balance, exquisite clearness; nothing heavy, nothing false: on the contrary, a natural elegance. Lykourgos would not have succeeded in Attika; his weighty laws, which kept Sparta motionless, would have had no hold upon these keen intellects, these men not apt to be submissive to one imperious rule, because they derived from their own soil all varieties of existence, and had in their veins the most mingled blood.<sup>3</sup> Pelasgians, Achaians, Ionians, Thracians, Aioliens, Oriental colonists perhaps, — all had come hither to meet each other, not as conquerors, for this rocky peninsula, without earth or water, was not a territory to be fought for, but as fugitives, and in such proportion that no one tribe could subjugate all the others. Athens was an asylum to the Hellenic races, as Rome was to the Italiots. By reason of this the two cities were,

<sup>1</sup> Ovid says of Hymettos, *purpureos colles* (*Ars amat.*, iii. 687), and in truth at certain times in the day the hills of Hymettos have this tint.

<sup>2</sup> The air of Attika is of extreme transparency, *λαμπρότατον . . . αἰθέρος*, says Euripides (*Medeia*, 829), and, consequently, of extreme sonority; sight and hearing reach very far, and the senses, those vehicles of ideas, kept constantly on the alert, receive impressions much more vivid and multiplied than in the mists and fogs of other countries. Cicero says, in the *De Fato*, iv.: *Athenis tenue caelum; Thebis autem crassum*. Cf. Hippocrates, *Concerning the Air*, lv., and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 80. Curtius (i. 248), giving expression to the same idea, says: *Die Alten als eine besondere Gunst des Himmels anzuerkennen wussten, die trockne und helle Atmosphäre Attikas, welche durch ihre besondere Klarheit geeignet war, den Leib frisch und gesund, die Glieder elastisch zu machen, die Sinne zu schärfen, die Seele heiter zu stimmen, die Kräfte der Geister zu wecken und zu beleben*. Voltaire was not then so much in the wrong when he said: "It is possible that Nature gave to Athens a soil more suitable to the formation of certain kinds of genius than is Westphalia or Champagne."

<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the assertion of Isokrates (*Panegy.*, 24, 25) that the Athenians were autochthons; but he adds, in this connection, the curious fact that as late as his time all the Greeks sent to Athens the first-fruits of their harvests, required by the Pythia to do this because in Attika agriculture began, and thence had spread over the rest of Greece (*Ibid.*, 31, p. 28).

each in its own fashion, the most complete expression, the former of Greece, the latter of Italy, and both of the ancient world.

Sparta, the other pole of Hellenic society, made great advances in nothing. In her long and rugged valley of the Eurotas, which she barred against strangers, she assumed a harsh and narrow character, unyielding to the last; and in politics she organized from her earliest days the permanent form of her constitution, — an aristocracy. Athens — destined to go to the extreme of democracy, and even farther — had to traverse a longer road before reaching the constitution suited to her genius; hence she was much later in arriving at power over outside nations.

Up to the time of the Median wars we find in Athenian history many revolutions, beginning in the reign of Theseus, who succeeded his father, Aigeus, about 1300

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

B. C., although certain institutions, as the Areiopagos, and the division of the people into nobles, agricultural laborers, and artisans was perhaps even more ancient. Theseus is, so to speak, the patron of Athens, as Herakles is of the

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

Peloponnesos, and Quirinus of Rome. He is one of those personages, half divine, half human, the memory of whom, embellished by the popular imagination, hovers over the cradle of a nation. His history was truly national in Attika, and the marvellous details of his life are recalled on the monuments, in the religion, the festivals, and even in the calendar of the Athenians. These details have been already related in the legendary history to which they belong. It will only be added here that Athene and Poseidon, the goddess of intellect and the god of the sea, disputed as to which should be the Poliac divinity of the new city. Athene was successful, and gave to Athens the Age of Perikles; but Poseidon secured to the city for a century and a half the empire of the sea.

<sup>1</sup> Theseus, raising with effort the stone of Aithra, under which his father has hidden his sandals and his sword. Copy of a statue placed in the Erechtheion. Legend: ΑΘΗ[ΝΑΙΩ]Ν. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens.)

<sup>2</sup> Theseus, armed with a club, is killing the Minotaur. Legend: ΑΘΗ[ΝΑΙΩ]Ν. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens.)

We shall now only dwell upon the political fact of the foundation of Athens as the capital of Attika. "The land with long shores,"<sup>1</sup>—for such is the meaning of the word Attika,—open on three sides to the sea, had received by that route and by the



DISPUTE BETWEEN ATHENE AND POSEIDON.<sup>2</sup>

roads over the Boiotian mountains inhabitants of very different origin.<sup>3</sup> Each group established itself apart, and each refused to have anything in common with the rest. Much time and many

<sup>1</sup> *Acta* (Pliny, iv. 7); 'Αττικὴν τὴν χώραν, πρότερον καλουμένην 'Ακταίαν (Pausanias, i. 2, 6).

<sup>2</sup> This cameo, one of the finest in the *Cabinet de France* (sardonyx of three layers, 182 millim. by 6½ cent.), was considered in the Middle Ages to be a representation of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and an inscription was cut around the edge in Hebrew, from *Genesis* iii. 6: "And the woman saw that the tree was good for food." (No. 36 of the *Catalogue*.)

<sup>3</sup> The Poliac divinities of Attika manifest a like diversity of origin: they were the Pelasgic Zeus; the Aiolian Poseidon, who from the rock of the Akropolis caused water to spring forth; and Pallas, the ancient goddess of the mountaineers of Pallene and of the Ionian race.

efforts were needed to reduce these petty States to twelve, and to establish among them intermarriage and the acceptance of a common tribunal. This first work of unification bears in legend the name of Kekrops;<sup>1</sup> the second, which from twelve villages made a single city and constituted political unity where civil unity had already been established, bears the name of Theseus.

"Theseus," says Plutarch, "united in one political body the scattered inhabitants of Attika. Originally scattered in many villages, it was difficult to bring them together to deliberate upon public affairs; often they were at war with each other. Theseus went about among the villages to make known his plan and obtain the general consent. The citizens of the middle and lower class adopted it without hesitation. In order to induce the more powerful to agree in it, he promised them a government without a king, wherein, reserving for himself only the military command and the execution of the laws, he established in all other respects entire equality among the citizens. Some were convinced; others yielded through fear. He destroyed in each village the prytaneion and council-room, dismissed all the magistrates, built a prytaneion and a common palace, where now they stand, gave to the city and the citadel the name of Athens, and established a festival for all the citizens, called the Panathenaia."<sup>3</sup> Their Poliac divinity was Pallas Athene, whose statue fell from heaven.<sup>4</sup>

THESEUS.<sup>2</sup>

In other words, Attika, formerly divided into many States, like the other provinces of Greece, had been constrained to acknowledge the supremacy of that State which had outgrown the others by reason of its access to the sea<sup>5</sup> and the natural advantages of its position, having behind it a rock with steep sides, but on the top a plateau, which was for the people and their gods an impregnable asylum.<sup>6</sup> This revolution, which gave Attika as its

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> The hero has just lifted the stone which hid his father's sword. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, sardonyx, 14 millim. by 10. No. 1,795 of the *Catalogue*.)

<sup>3</sup> This is also the story told by Thucydides, ii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Pausanias, i. 6. 6).

<sup>5</sup> The harbor was Phaleron up to the time of Themistokles.

<sup>6</sup> The Akropolis is a square, craggy rock, rising abruptly about a hundred and fifty feet, with a flat summit of about a thousand feet long from east to west, by five hundred broad

capital "the city of the violet crown."<sup>1</sup> suffered however the divisions to remain which are to be found at the beginning of almost all histories,—tribes, *phratritiai*, and families. There were four tribes, each containing three *phratritiai*, subdivided in their turn into



ATHENIAN COIN.

thirty *gene*, making three hundred and sixty political families. These families, like the Roman *gentes*, contained men not only allied by blood, but also united by common sacrifices in honor of the god or hero who was supposed to be the ancestor of the race; by the right of inheriting from one another in default of consanguineous heirs; by an obligation of mutual assistance; and by the possession of an altar, a tomb, and a treasure in common. Each *genos* contained a certain number of *gennetai*, or fathers of families. This organization rested on a principle unhappily much enfeebled in the world of to-day,—the worship of the family, the veneration of ancestors. Athens regarded as a public misfortune the extinction of any one of her families, not so much because she lost citizens, but because the ancestors, the Manes, the tutelary gods of this household, would now be left without worship, and perhaps might themselves become without affection for a city where the fire of sacrifices burned no longer on their altars.

Besides this religious and social division into *phratritiai* and families, there was another, more political and of much later date. Each tribe was divided into three *trittyes*, or thirds, and into twelve *naukrariai*. The forty-eight *naukrariai* of the four tribes were territorial divisions, in each of which the *naukraros*,

from north to south. It is inaccessible on all sides except the west. Perikles made it the most beautiful spot on the earth's surface.

<sup>1</sup> Because of its Ionian origin. In Greek *ἰον* signifies "violet." When the Athenians became illustrious, they repudiated, like certain parvenus, their origin and name (Herodotos, i. 143).

<sup>2</sup> Reverse of an Athenian coin. Owl standing on a prostrate amphora. In the field ΑΘΕ, and the following three names of magistrates: ΑΥΣΑΝ[ΔΡΟΣ], ΓΑΛΥΚΟΣ, ΚΑΕΟΦΑΝ[ΗΣ]. At the left of the owl, a grasshopper, symbol of the name of Kekrops, and of the autochthony. On the amphora, Δ; under it, ΜΕ. mint marks. (Beulé, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 326.)

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a Panathenaic procession. Fragment of the frieze of the Parthenon, from a cast. (See Chapter XXI.)



PANATHENAIIC PROCESSION.







or principal proprietor, levied the tax, as well as called out the military contingent of each district, and later, equipped a galley for the defence of Attika against pirates. The *prytaneis* of the *naukrariai* composed at Athens a supreme council.

These *naukrariai* belonged to the class of the rich, the noble, who formed in the city of

Theseus an aristocracy much resembling that which we find in the city of Romulus, — there, patricians; here, Eupatridai, — both

TETRADRACHM OF ATHENS.<sup>1</sup>RETURN OF THE DIOSKOURI.<sup>2</sup>

holding the people in subjection. At Rome, where the result of wars brought a second people face to face with the first, the

<sup>1</sup> On the obverse, Athene, right profile, with the helmet ornamented with griffons and galloping horses. Reverse: owl standing on a prostrate amphora. In the field: ΑΘΕ and three names of magistrates: ΝΙΚΙΩΝ, ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ[ΔΗΣ], ΑΣΚΛΗ[ΠΙΑΔΗΣ]. At the right of the owl, Kastor and Polydeukes, standing, leaning against each other; one holds a spear, the other a patera. On the amphora, the letter Β, and under it, ΜΕ, mint marks. (Piece of new style, Beulé, *op. cit.*, p. 339.)

<sup>2</sup> Painting upon a vase made by Exekias, painter and keramist, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. ii. pl. xxii. The Dioskouroi, Kastor (ΚΑΣΤΟΡ) and Polydeukes (ΓΟΥΥΔΕΥΚΕΣ), are received on their return by their father, Tyndareos (ΤΥΝΔΑΡΕΟΣ), and their mother, Leda (ΛΕΔΑ). Leda extends a flower to Kastor, who holds his horse, Kylaros (ΚΥΛΑΡΟΣ), by the bridle. Before Tyndareos, a young slave carries a seat on his head; a vial is hung from his left arm.

plebeians soon became strong enough to compel the patricians to take them into account; at Athens—where there were no conquered people to be introduced into the city after defeat, and thus continually increase the number and power of the lower class—the aristocracy remained for many centuries unshaken.

According to the legends collected by Plutarch, it was this aristocracy which overthrew Theseus. During an absence of the hero, the brothers, Kastor and Polydeukes, invaded Athens, to recover



VIEW OF SKYROS.<sup>1</sup>

their sister Helen, whom Theseus had carried off; and in Athens itself a sedition arose against him. Menestheus, a descendant of Erechtheus, endeavored to stir up the principal citizens against the man who had deprived them of the authority which they had heretofore exercised in their villages, and by collecting them into a city, had made them his subjects, or rather his slaves. Menestheus also incited the common people, accusing Theseus of having left them only a fancied liberty, when in fact he had deprived them of their country and their sacrifices, and in room of their legitimate kings, good and humane, had given them for a master a foreigner unknown to them." Theseus, returning, was obliged to go into exile at Skyros, where he died. Menestheus attained the throne, the object of his intrigues; but after his

<sup>1</sup> From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxii. 79. The modern town of St. George covers the northern and western sides of the rocky peak.

death the royal authority was restored to the family of Theseus, who preserved it until the time when the Dorian migration overthrew existing conditions in Greece.

Attika, however, did not suffer from this migration; only her frontier was touched by it, and only at the last moment; but from its first outbreak she offered an asylum to the vanquished. After



CAPE SOUNION.<sup>1</sup>

the Aiolian invasion the Minyans and Kadmeians of Boiotia sought shelter beyond Mount Kithairon, and brought, with the worship of Demeter, the use of writing, already long known on the banks of Lake Kopais. Fugitives from Troïzen crossed the Saronic Gulf and peopled the *demoi* of Sphetos and Anaphlystos, in the neighborhood of Cape Sunion. From Aigina came the Aiakidai, from whom Miltiades and Kimon were descended; from Messenia, the posterity of Neleus and of Nestor.

Thus Attika received at that time numerous inhabitants, especially from old families, powerful on account of the number of their followers, their wealth, and the religious and heroic tradi-

<sup>1</sup> From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiv. 352. In the distance is the Island of Zea, the ancient Keos.

tions attached to their name; and these new-comers were able to seize upon the supremacy in Athens. To spare their national vanity, the Athenians give a different account of this revolution. The foreigners are said to have established themselves as private individuals in Attika; shortly after, a Theban king, at war with Athens, challenged to single combat Thymoites, a descendant of Theseus, who refused to fight. The Messenian Melanthos accepted in his place, defeated the Theban by a stratagem, and in reward was made king by the Athenians. This much is certain, that Melanthos left the throne to Kodros, his son, and that his kinsmen were the ancestors of the Alkmaionidai and the Peisistratidai, — the two families of highest rank in Athens.

In the reign of this Melanthos, Attika again received, either willingly or by compulsion, the Ionians of Aigileia (expelled from their country by the Achaians), and other emigrants from Epidaurus, Phlios, and Corinth. The new-comers brought with them a sentiment which took root. — hatred for the Dorian name. Kodros was reigning at Athens when the Dorians, in pursuit of the peoples whom they had driven out of the Peloponnesos, invaded Megaris and Attika. Here again complaisant history probably conceals a defeat under a tradition of heroism which no man might doubt at Athens. An oracle, it was said, had made known that if the assailants should kill the king of Athens, their defeat was sure. They accordingly made it a part of their plan carefully to avoid doing him injury. But Kodros was aware of the sacrifice demanded by the god, and accepted it. Disguised as a peasant, he went into the enemy's camp, offered provocation to one of the common soldiers, wounding the man with a sickle which he carried, and was killed. When the Dorians learned that they had fulfilled the oracle in this way, they despaired of success, and withdrew from the country (1061 B. C.).

## II. — ABOLITION OF THE REGAL POWER; THE ARCHONSHIP; THE LAWS OF DRAKO.

AFTER the death of Kodros it was asserted that no man was worthy to succeed him, and under that pretext royalty was abolished (1045?). This revolution was made by the chiefs of the new-comers, Aiolians and Ionians, who, united with the old nobility of Athens, formed the political and social aristocracy of the Eupatrids (nobles), also called the *Pediaioi*, or lowlanders, as distinguished from the ancient inhabitants, who were crowded back into the mountains or towards the sea-coast, and were hence called the *Diakrioi* and *Paraloi*. Thus a foreign aristocracy, with the connivance of the national aristocracy, threatened to smother the ancient popular rights and subject Attika to the caste-system endured by the countries beyond the isthmus. This despotism was in the end undermined by the spirit of the institutions attributed to Theseus, and by the laborious activity of this population, which, compelled to obtain its food from foreign countries, asked from commerce and industry those means of exchange which its own soil did not furnish.

Athens did not become Sparta, and Greece was saved from a sterile uniformity, by which the world would have lost the rich development of the Athenian spirit.

Jealous of the royal power, which gave them umbrage, although since the election of Melanthos this power was in the hands of one of themselves, the Eupatrids despoiled it of its chief prerogatives; they transformed it into a permanent and responsible magistracy, and the stately title of king (*basileus*) was replaced by that of chief, or archon. They consented, however, to leave this enfeebled authority to Medon, the son of Kodros, and after him to twelve of his descendants; but the principle of heredity once abolished, and that of accountability imposed, no barrier could long arrest a jealous aristocracy, and in 752 the duration of the archonship was limited to ten years. When seven decennial archons had ruled in Athens, the slow decomposition of the royalty was completed.

Each one of the Eupatrids sought to obtain a share in the power; the archonship was made annual, and its duties divided among a college of nine, οἱ ἐννέα (683).

Three of these archons divided among themselves the former prerogatives of the kings. The first, or president of the body, the archon eponymos (ὁ ἐπώνυμος ἄρχων), gave his name to the year. Representing the State, he was the legal protector of widows and orphans, the guardian of the rights of families and *phratritiai*. The second, the archon-king (ὁ βασιλεύς), had, like the *rex sacrificulus* of the Romans, religious functions, — an office which gave him consideration as legal guardian of religion, but no authority as a religious teacher; he had jurisdiction in indictments for impiety and in controversies in regard to the priesthood, and in cases of murder he brought the trial into the court of the Areiopagos and voted with its members. It was required that his wife should be an Athenian of pure race; she was called *basilissa* (βασίλισσα). She offered certain sacrifices, and was required to swear at the Anthesteria, a festival of Dionysos, that she had never been guilty of adultery.<sup>1</sup> The third archon, the polemarch, was the commander of the army, and had also duties as to the protection and superintendence of resident aliens, and the decision of cases between them and citizens.<sup>2</sup> The remaining six, called *thesmothetai*, or legislators, had numerous duties connected with the administration of justice.<sup>3</sup>

Second to these supreme magistrates, all men of noble families, were the *prytaneis* of the *naukrariai*, exclusively composed of Eupatrids, and the senate of the Areiopagos, composed of ex-archons. The Eupatrids therefore occupied all the magistracies; but they went even farther, and there was danger that civil servitude would be added to political servitude, for the two are usually found together.

The nobles held all the wealth; they raised the interest on money to a usurious height, or rather they required from the

<sup>1</sup> On the archon-basileus, see Hauvette-Besnault, *De Archonte rege*, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> [This office in many respects resembled that of the *praetor peregrinus* at Rome. The polemarch had also some religious functions, such as offering a certain yearly sacrifice to Artemis, and the ordering of funeral games in honor of those who fell in battle. — Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [The *thesmothetai* were required to revise annually the whole body of laws; also to ratify international agreements as to suits. — Ed.]

poor who cultivated their lands too large a proportion of the harvests. "The poor," says Plutarch, "overwhelmed by their debts to the rich, were obliged to give them the sixth part of the produce of their lands, or indeed to give themselves up to slavery, and even to being sold out of the country. Many of the poor themselves sold their children, their daughters and sisters who had no legal protection, or else fled the country to escape the cruelties of usurers."<sup>2</sup>

LEADEN TOKEN.<sup>1</sup>

A striking similarity is noticeable between the situation of Attika at this period and that of Rome a century later. The poor, at the mercy of the rich, have no written law to which they can appeal; a few customs, called "royal laws," are the

AGRICULTURAL SCENE.<sup>3</sup>

sole and feeble rule which the tribunals recognize. The judges, moreover, are all Eupatrids, for only their class fill the archonship and the Areiopagos. With a tyranny like this, Athens could not prosper. It is the class of freemen, the petty land-owners, the *geomoroi*, who would have made the strength of the State; and this class was not formed, while that of the poor increased. Accordingly, during that obscure period of five and a half centuries between the abolition of royalty and the institution of the laws of Solon, history has no facts to relate.

However, the poor had on their side numerical majority; and there came to them powerful auxiliaries, — certain of the Eupatrids, who, dissatisfied with their share in the State, passed over to the

<sup>1</sup> Token of a thesmothetes, from the *Παπρασός*, number for February, 1883. On one side an A, initial of the word "Athenian;" on the other, four owls, with an olive-branch between the two pairs, and the inscription *Θεσμοθετών* (ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ).

<sup>2</sup> In respect to the real condition of the poor, that is to say, of the agricultural laborers, at this period, see, later, the reforms of Solon.

<sup>3</sup> Painting on a vase in the Campana Collection, in the Louvre. (The reverse of this cut is represented on p. 448.) The plough and the cart are each drawn by two mules. In the cart are two large covered amphorae. The last figure at the left is an overseer.



people. Thus the Alkmaionidai became the leaders of the inhabitants of the sea-coast, and the Peisistratidai of the mountaineers. These chiefs organized the popular opposition which in 621 B. C. obtained a code of laws as protection against the arbitrary character of tribunals where, heretofore, the Eupatrids had judged

ΔΙΟΛΛΑΤΟΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΡΙΟΣ ΕΞ ΕΛΡΑΜΜΑΤΕ...  
ΔΙΟΚΛΕΣ ΕΡΧΕ  
ΔΟΧΣΕΝΤΕΙΒΟΥΛΕΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΔΕΜΟΛΑΚΑΛΑΝΤ...ΕΥΕ...Ο.  
ΝΕΤΟΣΕΛΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕΕΥΟΙΔΙΚΟ...ΤΑΤΕ...Ε...ΑΝΕΞΕ.ΡΕ.Ο.  
ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΝΤΟΜΠΕΡΙΤΟ...ΟΑΝ.ΛΡΑ.ΣΑ.Τ...Ν...ΛΦΕ  
ΣΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΑΡΑΙΟΙ...ΑΤΕ  
ΣΤΕΣΒΟΥΛΕΣ ΣΤΕΛΕΙΛΙΘΙΝΕΙ ΚΑ...Α.Α.Γ.Τ...Ε.ΣΤΟ  
ΑΣΤΕΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΙΔΕ ΡΟΛΕΤΑΙΑ.ΟΜ...ΜΟ  
ΝΟΙΔΕΕΛΛΕΝΟΤΑΜΙΑΙΔΟΝΤΟΝΤΟΛ...  
ΠΡΟΤΟΞΑΧΣΟΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΕΑΜ.ΕΚ.ΡΟΝ...Σ.Τ...

LAW OF DRAKO CONCERNING MURDER.<sup>1</sup>

according to an unwritten law, which interest often made to vary. Drako had the duty of writing out this code. It did not concern the political constitution, but it regulated the citizen's life from the moment of his birth to that of his death. All crimes, we are told, — the slightest larceny as much as murder or sacrilege, — were punished with death. Drako asserted that the least offence

<sup>1</sup> Fragment of an Athenian decree from the *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*, i. 61. The following is the text, together with the translation: Διόγνητος Φρεάρριος ἑγραμμάτευσ· Διοκλῆς ἤρχε. — "Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευσ, Διόγνητος ἑγραμμάτευσ, Εὐθύδικος ἐπεστάτει. Ἀθηνοφάνης εἶπε· τὸν Δράκοντος νόμον τὸμ περὶ φόνου ἀναγραφάντων οἱ ἀναγραφῆς τῶν νόμων, παραλαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ κατὰ πρυτανείαν γραμματέως τῆς βουλῆς, ἐστήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ καταθέντων πρόσθεν τῆς στοᾶς τῆς βασιλείας. Οἱ δὲ πωληταὶ ἀπομισθωσάντων κατὰ τὸν νόμον· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνοταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον.

Πρῶτος ἄξων. Καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἔκ προνοίας κτείνῃ τις τινα, φεύγειν. Δικάζειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτιῶν φόνου ἢ βουλευσεως τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλ[εύοντας] . . .

"Diognetos Phrearrhios, secretary; Diokles, archon. (The date corresponds to the Olymp. 92-94, — 409-408 B. C.) — The council and the people have decreed. The tribe Akamantis holding the Prytaneion, Diognetos was secretary, and Euthydikos president. Athenophanes proposed: The law of Drako in respect of murder shall be engraved anew by the engraver of the laws upon a marble stela. The law shall be furnished them by the secretary of the Prytaneion where the council is in session, and they shall set it up before the royal portico. The *polites* shall regulate their salary according to the law, and the treasurers of the Hellenic treasury shall furnish the money."

Law of Drako, borrowed in the First Table of Solon: "First Table. — In case of murder committed without premeditation, the penalty shall be exile. The archon-kings shall have cognizance in cases of murder or intent to kill, each during the period of his office."

For the translation and juridic commentary on this text, see R. Dareste, *Les Plaidoyers civils de Démosthène*, vol. ii. p. 55, note 29. For the *ἄξωνες* or Tables of Solon, see coin represented later.

merited death, and he knew of no other punishment for crimes. But this statement is an exaggeration, for we find in his laws other penalties,—fines, disfranchisement, and even, in certain cases of murder, exile.

Drako either constituted or reorganized the tribunal of the *Ephetai*, "those who send into exile." These judges were fifty-one in number, heads of families, and selected perhaps by the archon-king. They sat near the Palladion to try cases of accidental homicide punishable by temporary exile; near the Delphinion for cases of justifiable homicide, such as killing another in self-defence, or taking the life of a tyrant, an adulterer,<sup>1</sup> or a robber by night; and at Phreatto, on the sea-shore, where a man exiled for accidental homicide was charged with commission of wilful murder during his exile. In this case the person accused remained on board ship, as being unworthy to set foot on his native soil, while the judges sat near him on the shore. Their principal duty was to bring about reconciliation between the parties, by ordering the criminal to pay "the price of blood" (*τὰ ὑποφόνια*). In a fourth court, held near the Prytaneion, sentence was passed on the instrument of murder when the perpetrator of the act was not known.

This organization was certainly an amelioration of the ancient customs, for hitherto a murder had either been avenged by the family of the victim, which gave rise to hereditary feuds, or it had been judged by the Areiopagos, which court, without examining into the circumstances, pronounced in all cases sentence of death, or of exile with confiscation of property. Drako has such a name for severity that his laws are said to have been written in blood. Possibly, however, we ought to consider them an amelioration of ancient and cruel customs.

Montesquieu remarks that the most severe laws are not the most effectual; they exasperate those who are subjected to them, or they cause alarm to those who enforce them, and by this two-fold cause fall quickly into desuetude. Such was the case with

<sup>1</sup> In the heroic period, adultery was punished by fine only (see p. 300). The State consolidating itself on the basis of the family, there was soon established greater severity in the case of the crime which undermined the latter. Drako permitted the killing of the adulterer *in flagrante delicto*. Custom, however, authorized a pecuniary reparation, which the law of Gortyna in Krete fixed at 50 staters, to be paid to the public treasury. Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Arist.*, § 53; *Against Neaira*, § 66.

the laws of Drako. At the same time they had in one respect been productive of good. Justice, the law, was no longer a mystery; the people had appreciated the advantage of this publicity, and soon called upon Solon to take up Drako's reform.

### III. — KYLON, EPIMENIDES, AND SOLON.

THE countries adjacent to Attika were at this time in a state of great disturbance. At Megara, at Corinth, at Epidauros, at Sikyon, the aristocracy, which had inherited, as at Athens, the rights of the hereditary monarchy, had seen lifted above it, by the assistance of the multitude, popular chiefs, known as tyrants. This opportunity tempted Kylon. He was a Eupatrid of wealth, and distinguished by a victory at the Olympic Games. Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, had given him his daughter in marriage, and advised him to imitate his own usurpation, which would thus be made more secure. Kylon consulted the Pythia, as was the custom of the time, and the oracle replied that on the day of the chief festival of Zeus he would succeed in seizing the citadel of Athens. Kylon then asked for assistance from Theagenes, brought his own friends into the plot, and at the time when the Olympic Games were celebrated in the Peloponnesos, persuaded that this was the day indicated by the oracle, he seized the Akropolis. Thucydides explains that Kylon was mistaken as to the time, for the Athenians have also a festival in honor of Zeus, and it was to this that the oracle referred.

As soon as the audacious attempt was perceived, the Athenians from the adjacent country all hastened into the city, and at once established a siege of the citadel. Very soon food and water failed in the Akropolis; Kylon and his brother escaped, and the rest seated themselves as suppliants at the altar of Athene.

There was at this time among the archons a man probably as ambitious as Kylon himself, and who, like him, aimed to become a tyrant, for he was descended from the ancient kings of Attika, and his son was a friend of Croesus, king of Lydia, and also son-in-law of Kleisthenes, the tyrant of Sikyon. This was Megakles,

head of the powerful family of the Alkmaionidai. He did not feel willing that another man should grasp that which he himself was not yet powerful enough to take, and he placed himself at the head of the citizens to recover the national sanctuary. Having made themselves masters of the Akropolis, they proceeded to deal with the partisans of Kylon. The latter were persuaded to with-



ATHENE AT HER ALTAR.<sup>1</sup>

draw from their asylum, which they did, keeping themselves still under the protection of the goddess by means of a cord tied to her altar, and then passed from hand to hand. When, however, they had gone as far as the temple of the Eumenides, the cord broke. Megakles and his followers seized upon the accident as a proof that the goddess refused her protection to traitors, and slew them without scruple, with the exception of a few who escaped and took refuge as suppliants at the feet of the archons' wives (612 B. C.).

In consequence of this severity, Megakles was accused of sacrilege; and the accusation weighed upon all the house of the Alkmaionids, and even upon their posterity. The partisans of Kylon.

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a little Panathenaic amphora, from O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. xxxi. No. 20. Athene Promachos, with helmet, ægis, shield, and spear, standing near her altar.

or rather the enemies of the nobles, were numerous. They clamored for vengeance in the name of outraged religion, in the name of the gods who would no longer look with favor on a city where their sanctuaries were not held inviolable, and discord broke out

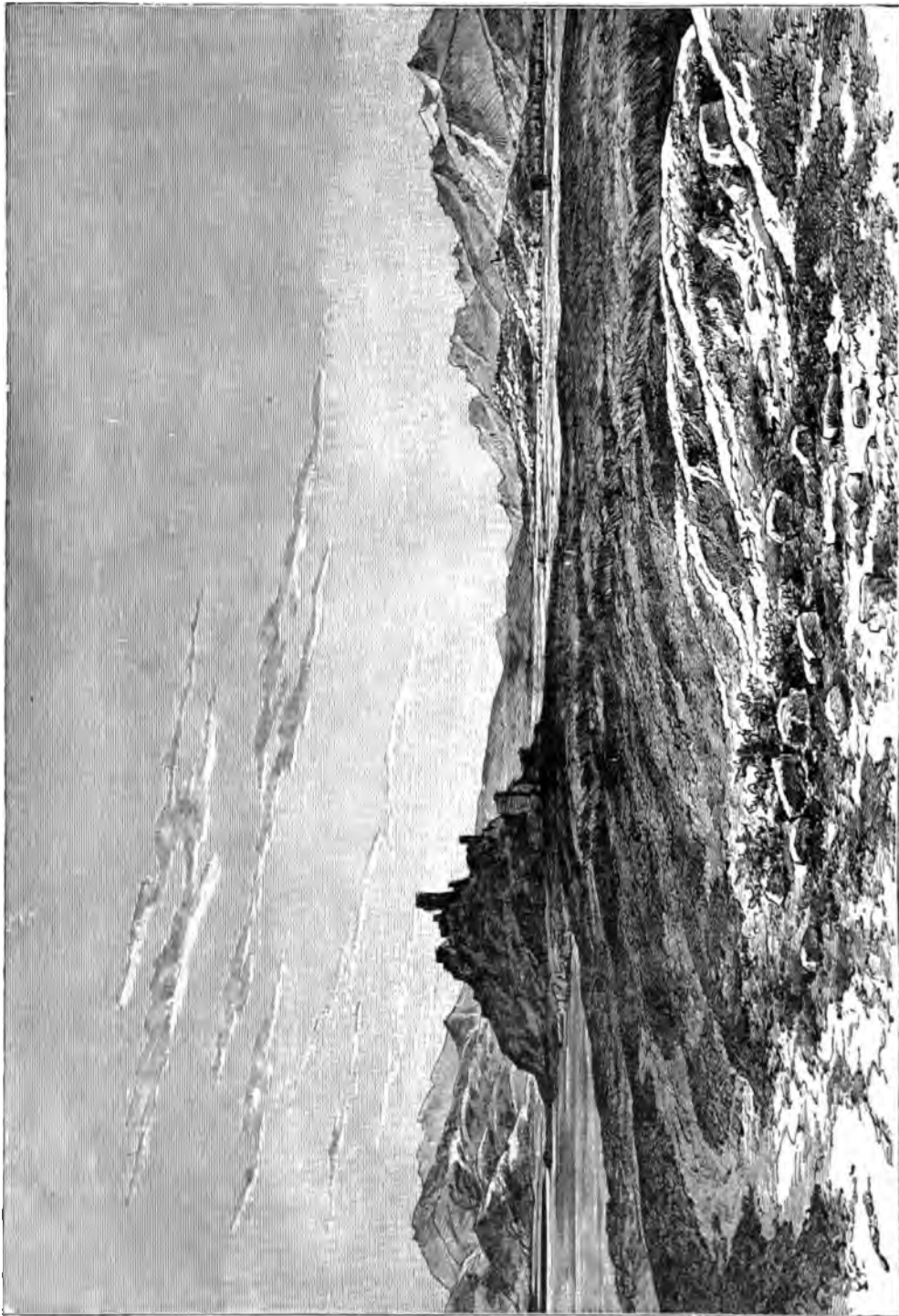


A SUPPLIANT SLAIN AT AN ALTAR.<sup>1</sup>

in the State between the democracy who were gaining in power, and the aristocracy, unwilling to lose it. The people of Megara, where it is probable Kylon took refuge, profited by this condition of affairs at Athens to seize upon the Island of Salamis, which commands the approaches to the ports of Megara and of Athens. The Athenians could not, without disgrace and peril, leave the

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a cup made by Euphronios; from Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, pl. cccxvi. Achilles (ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ *sic*), with lifted sword, is about to strike the young Troilos (ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ), who has vainly taken shelter at the altar of Apollo. On the altar is a branch of laurel, perhaps placed there by Troilos.

NOTE. — The view of Megara on the opposite page (from Stackelberg, *La Grèce*, etc.) is taken from the east. The city and its akropolis occupy at the right the two heights under the Geronian mountains where are now the houses of the modern village. The height on the left, crowned with the ruins of a fortress, dominated Nisaia, the port of Megara, which was connected with the city by long walls.



VIEW OF MEGARA.





island in the hands of their enemies, and they made great efforts to recover it; but after long alternations of successes and defeats this war became so wearisome to them that they relinquished it, and forbade, on pain of death, the proposal of any new attempt to recover Salamis.

In Athens lived at that time, undistinguished in the crowd of his fellow-citizens, a descendant of Kodros. In his youth, to repair the waste of his patrimony by an extravagant father, he had devoted himself to commercial pursuits. He had travelled much, seeking, at the same time, fortune by traffic, and knowledge by the study of men and manners in foreign lands. He was considered a sage, but moderate in his wisdom, and not averse to the pleasures of life, of which he sang in light verse, mingled, it is true, with wise and profound maxims. This man was Solon.

He made on one occasion a singular use of his poetic talent. Like all the Athenian youth at the time, he endured with impatience the disgrace of the late war; but a menace of death was suspended over any man who should dare to speak of Salamis. He feigned to be mad, and caused the report of his condition to be spread over the whole city; then, one day, he rushed into the agora, mounted the herald's stone, and recited a poem of a hundred lines, calling upon the people to recover "the beautiful island." "I come, a herald from fair Salamis," he cried; "I recite to you the melodious verses which Apollo dictates to me." Men listened, for he was reported mad. But when he had ended, the whole assembly were frenzied likewise. Solon was appointed leader of the expedition; he gained a victory by stratagem, landed in the island, and placed it again under the authority of Athens (604 B. C.). However, this affair was not yet ended; the people of Megara were persistent in their attempts to recover "the beautiful island." After suffering much on both sides, the two parties accepted the arbitration of Sparta, which decided in favor of Athens, on the authority of a line which Solon had interpolated in the *Iliad*, where Aias is said to have ranged his ships with those of the Athenians.

The sagacity and determination of Solon decided the issue of this war; but to understand the ideas and manners of the time, we may record an expedient to which he had recourse,—a stra-



tagem of war quite peculiar in character. By dint of sacrifices he gained over the two native divinities of Salamis, and brought them to give aid to the Athenians.<sup>1</sup> At least it was not doubted at Athens that the honors paid to the Salaminian heroes decided them to favor a people who ascribed to them so much authority in the affairs of men. Before attacking the Plataians, at a later day, Archidamos also invoked the gods of that people, and begged them to abandon Plataia.

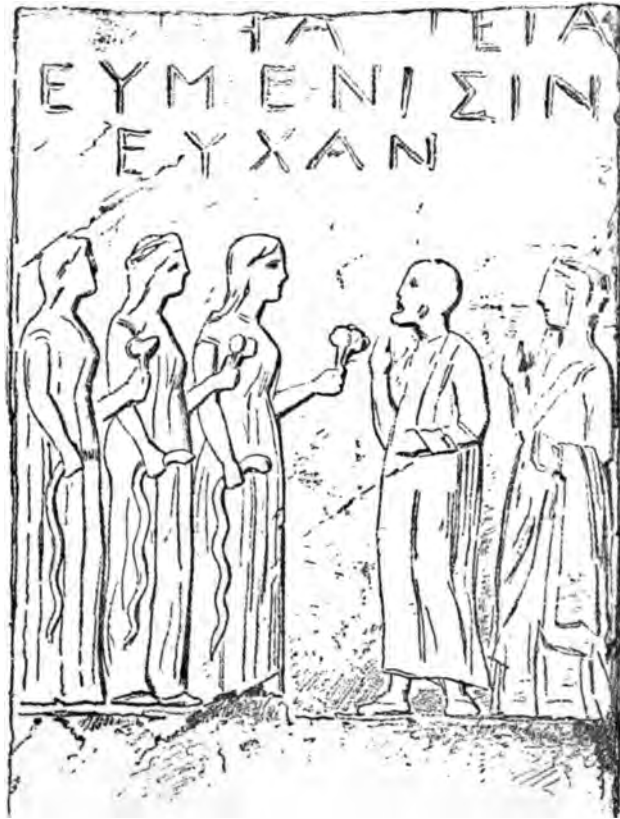
The part which Solon took in the war of Kirrha, the fortunate issue of which was said to be due to his counsels, increased the consideration which he enjoyed; and he made use of the influence which his services had given him to calm the dissensions which always existed in Athens. The family of Kylon and that of Megakles waged hot war against each other; he persuaded the latter, who were held to be guilty of sacrilege, to submit themselves to the judgment of three hundred of the most upright citizens. They were condemned and banished; and the bones of their dead were disinterred and thrown out of Attika.

This severe punishment had obliterated one element of discord; but so many others remained that disorder still continued. It was reported that spectres and phantoms had been seen, and a pestilence which desolated Attika appeared an evident effect of the displeasure of the gods. It was announced that the city, polluted by so many crimes and profanations, must undergo purification. To tranquillize the public mind, after consulting the oracle of Delphi, Epimenides the Kretan was sent for.<sup>2</sup> This man was a friend of the gods; he was understood to be the son of a nymph, and wonderful stories were told of him. As a boy, being sent out by his father in search of a stray sheep, he had entered a cave for shelter from the noonday heat, and, falling asleep, had thus remained for fifty-seven years. Everything in his appearance was strange and imposing,—his long hair, his serious and profound gaze, the solemnity of his gestures, his Oriental gravity. He had a marvellous knowledge in the things of religion and of Nature. It was said that he knew all the properties of plants; also that he could read the future.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 9; see also pp. 376–383, the cult of heroes.

<sup>2</sup> Niese (*Zur Geschichte Solons und seiner Zeit*, 1882) maintains that the history of Epimenides is entirely legendary; and certainly it is so, at least in part.

His arrival produced a lively impression upon the inquisitive Athenians. They hastened to do whatever he directed. He ordered a number of white and of black sheep to be driven out to the Areiopagos, and there turned loose. Each animal was sacrificed



THE EUMENIDES.<sup>1</sup>

on the spot where it first stood still, and an altar consecrated at each place to the unknown gods. Six centuries later, Saint Paul eloquently recalls the memory of this, and declares to the Athenians Him whom they had ignorantly worshipped. It is sad to be obliged to say that this respected sage ordered the sacrifice of a human victim; but tradition reports that two offered themselves willingly. Kratinos and Aristodemos, two young Athenians

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in calcareous stone, preserved in the Museum of Argos; from the *Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iv. (2,879), pl. ix. Two figures, a man and a woman, are represented standing, in an attitude of adoration, before the three Eumenides. The latter hold, each in the left hand, a flower: in the right, a serpent. The inscription, which is incomplete, gives the name of those who offer this ex-voto to the Eumenides: *Εὐμενίσιν εὐχάων*.

devoted to one another in an intimate friendship, sacrificed themselves together for the salvation of the country. Epimenides further ordered that a temple to the Eumenides should be constructed on the Hill of Ares (Mars Hill), near which later the council of the Areiopagos assembled. He introduced certain changes as to the rites of worship, and he prohibited to the Athenian widows those barbaric manifestations of grief which left upon the figure and the face lasting and frightful traces. Having accomplished his reforms, he departed. The citizens desired to load him with gifts, but he would accept only a branch from the olive-tree of Athene, and a treaty of alliance between Athens and Knossos, his native city.

The mission of Epimenides had for results the revival among the Athenians of a respect for sacred things, the abolishment, in the name of religion, of certain cruel usages, and, above all, the expulsion of vague and superstitious fears. He had been instructed as to the true needs of the city by Solon, whom he had associated in all his measures, and who, shortly after, was called upon to give laws to Athens (594).

#### IV. — LAW CONCERNING DEBTS; DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE INTO THREE CLASSES.

THE genius of Solon was essentially humane; humane also was his constitution. He did not regard the State as a vast machine, of which men are the parts, to be arbitrarily combined and adjusted for use. While Sparta was a camp, always under arms, as in presence of the enemy, it was the aim of Solon to bring



GOLD COIN OF ATHENS.<sup>1</sup>

Athens nearer to the ideal State,—that in which the general order is combined with the greatest possible liberty of the individual. This respect for the rights of human nature, and this clear view of the true end of the social organization, introduced into his constitution the democratic principle which was

<sup>1</sup> Head of Athene, with helmet and crown of olive-leaves. On the reverse, AΘE and two owls, separated by an olive-branch.

already in the heart of his people, and gave his laws a character of generosity. The citizen is not the slave of the State, neither is the stranger a person to be driven out: this is of prime importance in the history of Athens and of civilization.

There were three parties in the State, — the Diakrioi, or poor inhabitants of the highlands, who were eager for a change in the form of govern-

ment; the Paraloi, or people of the sea-coast, chiefly employed in mercantile affairs, who found but little to complain of; and the Pediaioi, or aristocratic land-owners, who were



DECADRACHM OF ATHENS.<sup>1</sup>

satisfied with the established condition of things. The moderation manifested by Solon had gained for him the confidence of all, and they united in placing in his hands unlimited authority for adopting such measures as the time demanded, together with the title of archon (595). His friends urged him to avail himself of this opportunity to become tyrant of Athens, but he replied to them with sarcastic raillery, and continued his work as legislator.

His first duty was to find a remedy for the evil of the moment, — the pressure of pecuniary obligation on the part of the former clients of the Eupatrids, who were obliged to pay to their creditors or landlords one sixth of the product of the land which they cultivated.<sup>2</sup> Solon relieved them by his "disburdening ordinance" (*σεισάχθεια*), which rendered payments easier by making a change in the rates of interest and the nominal value of coins.<sup>3</sup> Another provision

<sup>1</sup> Head of Athene, with helmet and olive-wreath. Reverse, ΑΘΕ (retrograde.) Owl standing, with wings displayed (antique style). Beulé, *op cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 16.

<sup>3</sup> The value of the drachma was reduced by a little more than one fourth; the mina had formerly consisted of 73 drachmas: it was now made to consist of 100, of the new coinage, in which debts should be paid; thus the debtor paid in reality not quite three fourths of what he owed. Eckhel and Beulé (*Les Monnaies d'Athènes*) have observed that the Athenian coins are not comparable in workmanship with those of Syracuse, for the reason that, the Athenian coinage being current everywhere, it was necessary to keep the ancient types, which were

restored to liberty those who had fallen into slavery through destitution, and took away from the creditor for the future all right over the debtor's person.<sup>1</sup> The mortgage-pillars (ὄροι), with the inscriptions indicating the debts with which these fields were burdened, disappeared from the fields of Attika; it was, in the phraseology of the French law, the *mainlevée des hypothèques*.<sup>2</sup> We still possess the verses of Solon in which he boasts of having enfranchised the land, which before his time was enslaved (γῆ δουλεύουσα), and restored to their country debtors sold into foreign lands, "who, through wandering over the world, had forgotten the Attic tongue."

This law caused murmurs at first, but its wisdom was soon recognized; however, during the three centuries that it bore sway, the Athenian democracy never recurred to the measure of Solon: this is a fact to be remembered to its honor. The respect for property was so profoundly rooted in men's minds that no one again ventured to call for an abolition of debts and a depreciation of the currency. The reform of Solon was, in fact, something very different from a mere abolition of debts. The energetic language which he employs in describing it authorizes the belief that the condition of the laborer which he abolished was like that of the

everywhere recognizable. The monetary system established by Solon prevailed throughout the whole Hellenic world. The following are its principal divisions as to silver money, which was



ATHENIAN DRACHMA.

for a long time the only coinage, copper money being struck probably not earlier than the close of the Peloponnesian War, and gold being so rare that Eckhel denies its use at Athens. The decadrachm, equal to the demi-stater of gold, weighed 43 grammes; the tetradrachm, 17.20; the didrachm, 8.60; the drachma, 4.30; the triobolon, or demi-drachma, 2.15; the obolos, or sixth part of the drachma, .72. The drachma, by its weight in silver, was worth about 19 cents; the obolos, about

3 cents. But with the real value must also be taken into account the comparative value, — a thing difficult, if not impossible. In the time of Demosthenes, the purchasing power of money was five times less than in that of Solon.

<sup>1</sup> Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, I. xx. chap. xv.: "The law ought not to give constraint of body, because it holds the liberty of one man more important than the wealth of another." However, it makes an unfavorable exception in the case of merchants. The legal interest at Athens was 18 per cent, and in private transactions often rose much higher. See *History of Rome*, vol. viii. p. 13, n. 3. The present rate paid by the Bank of Athens is 12 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> In respect to these inscriptions, see a paper by R. Dareste in the *Nouvelle Revue de législation* (1885). The same author says, in the *Rev. histor. de droit* (1877), p. 172: "The Greeks knew neither our *saisie immobilière*, nor the forced sale, nor the *procédure d'ordre*. The ἀπορίμμη of the Greeks resembled less our own *hypothèques* than the 'mortgage' of English law."

Roman *coloni*, or the mediæval serfs of the glebe;<sup>1</sup> and an expression used by Aristotle confirms us in this sentiment: "Solon put an end to the slavery of the people."<sup>2</sup>

The tranquillity which followed these preliminary measures left Solon more at liberty in bringing forward his other laws. He manifested in them the same moderation, and strove to conciliate opposite principles and interests, by uniting, as he said, strength to justice.

His first measure was an amnesty for all except murderers and traitors; thus the Alkmaionidai were able to return to their native land.

Of the early constitution Solon preserved certain things and abolished others: for example, he abolished all the laws of Drako except those concerning murder, and he maintained the archonship, the court of the Areiopagos, and the four tribes, with their sub-divisions.

Solon made two innovations of great importance: by the first, every citizen had a certain share in the rights which this title implies; by the second, the population was divided into four classes, according to their property. The first of these two measures inclined



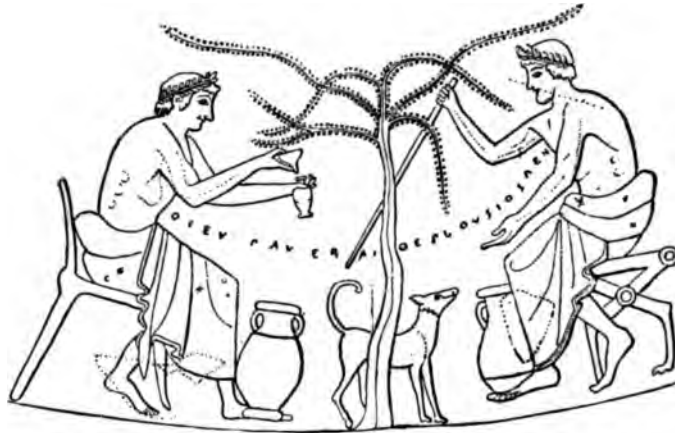
MORTGAGE-PILLAR.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of Böckh, of Tittmann and others, and of F. de Coulanges (*La Cité antique*, p. 315). This condition of serfdom must have been almost general in Greece, as a result of the early conquests and subsequent domination of the Eupatrids. The Helots in Sparta, the Messenians after the conquest, the Penestai of Thessaly, etc., were *coloni*. According to the law of Gortyna there were also in Krete a class of *coloni*, attached to the soil which they cultivated, but having over it certain rights.

<sup>2</sup> δουλύνοντα τὸν δῆμον παῦσαι (*Pol.*, ii. 10).

<sup>3</sup> Mortgage-pillar discovered in Attika, from the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1883, p. 67. It reads thus, completed: Ὅρος χωρίου προικὸς [Ἰ]πποκλείᾳ Δημοχάρ[ρ]ους Λευκονοίῳ. Τ(αλάντου). Ὅρω πλείονος ἄξι[ον]. Κεκροπίδαις [ὑπὲρ]κειται καὶ Λυκ[ομ]ίδαις καὶ Φλυῦ[σι]. "Mortgage-pillar, placed upon a field belonging to the husband of Hippokleia, daughter of Democharosis of Leukonoios, and niece of the orator Demosthenes. This field was the security given by the

the State towards democracy; the second was also democratic, in that it abolished the privileges of the aristocracy, but aristocratic by the fact that it placed the rich at the head of the State.



No. 1.



No. 2.

CULTIVATORS MEASURING THEIR HARVEST OF OIL.<sup>1</sup>

The four classes were organized in the following manner: the first comprised citizens possessing lands which yielded an annual

husband to guarantee the restitution of the dowry. The dowry was a talent. But together with this, the creditors of Hippokleia's husband had caused their rights to be inscribed upon this pillar. It was not the entire field that guaranteed the restitution of the dowry, but only so much as would be the value of a talent; all the rest was the security given by the debtor for the payment of his debts. Among the creditors were, 1st, the Kekropian tribe; 2d, the family of the Lykomides; 3d, the demos of Phlya." — HAUSSOULLIER: *La Vie municipale en Attique*, p. 221.

<sup>1</sup> These illustrations represent two scenes painted on the same vase, from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. ii. pl. xlv. b. 1. On each side of an olive-tree is seated a man; the one at the left is occupied in measuring his harvest of oil. "O Zeus!" he cries, "may I become rich!" ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ, αἰθε πλούσιος γυν[όίμην]. 2. The harvest is measured, and the

revenue of at least 500 medimnoi in dry or liquid products,<sup>1</sup> and was called, for this reason, *Pentakosiomedimnoi*.<sup>2</sup> The archonship, the higher offices, and the chief command of the army and the fleet were reserved for citizens of this class. The second, called ἱππεῖς, were those whose lands yielded an annual produce of 300 medimnoi, — the fortune considered necessary for keeping a horse; they were the cavalry, and held some subaltern offices.<sup>3</sup> They were also called *Triakosiomedimnoi*. The third class were the *Zeugitai*, — persons able to keep a yoke of oxen, which represented a revenue of 150 to 200 medimnoi. They furnished the heavy-armed infantry, and for them also some inferior positions in the State were reserved.

Lastly, the fourth class contained, under the name of *Thetes*, or mercenaries, all the rest of the free population. They were the light troops and the marines, and received pay during the service, — which was not the case with the *hoplitai* of the higher classes. The *Thetes* were excluded from offices or honors in the State, but were admitted into the assembly of the people and into the courts of justice. Among them must have been many of the former clients of the Eupatrids, as the Roman *plebs* was largely formed of the clients of patrician houses.

This inequality in the distribution of honors received compensation from the method in which taxation was organized. The

prayers of the cultivator have been heard. "Already, already," he exclaims, "we have exceeded the measure!" Ἐδε μὲν, ἔδε (for ἤδη) πλέον παραβίβακε.

<sup>1</sup> In Solon's time a medimnos of barley was worth a drachma.

<sup>2</sup> A medimnos is equal to two Roman amphoras, or about twelve gallons (a bushel and a half) of our measure. The members of the first class were then citizens whose land gave them annually at least 750 bushels of grain, which would represent to-day at the average price of the bushel in the last forty years (about \$1.40), a gross income of \$1,050, or 5,846 drachmas, since the Attic drachma, 66.5 grains of silver, is estimated at 19½ cents. On the other hand, in the chalky and scorched soil of Attika, the average yield of the acre probably did not exceed 11 bushels. To produce 750 bushels required 68 acres, which at an average price of \$115 would have with us a value of \$7,820. In the time of Solon 68 acres of land could be bought for a talent, \$1,170, which leads us to multiply by 7 the values of that time, to give approximately present values. But the problem is very complicated. We must remember that Attika was a country of small estates and small fortunes. We cannot, therefore, wonder that a gross income of \$1,000 was a fortune of the first rank.

<sup>3</sup> Sophokles speaks of the swift horses of Attika, and Xenophon, in two books on *Cavalry*, shows in what esteem the management of horses was held. In the present race of Thessalian horses travellers have identified those of the Parthenon, carved by Pheidias, and those which Xenophon and Sophokles have described. In respect to the riders themselves, see A. Martin, *Les Cavaliers athéniens*, 1886.



fourth class paid nothing at all, while the others were taxed according to a progression which shows that, to the mind of Solon, the duties of citizens towards the community were held to increase with their wealth. They paid according to the nominal worth of their estates; but while this value was estimated for the first class at its actual amount, it was reduced for the second class by one sixth, and to the third by four ninths. Thus a property producing 500 medimnoi was valued at twelve times



SOLON.<sup>1</sup>



ATHENIAN HORSEMEN.<sup>1</sup>

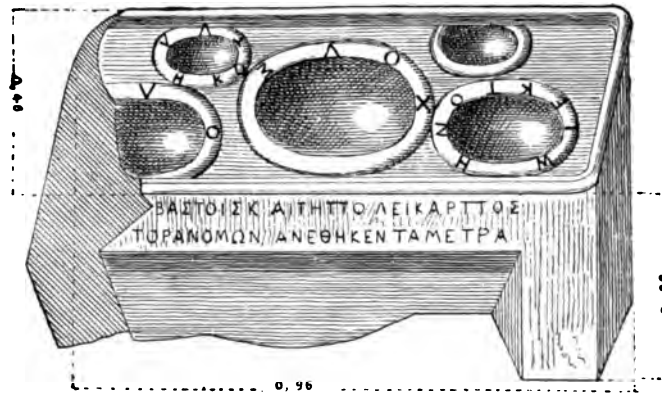
500, — that is, 6,000 drachmas; while the property of the knights, instead of being rated at twelve times 300, or 3,600 drachmas, went no higher than 3,000; and the property of the *zeugitai* at 1,000, instead of 1,800. This advantage was more apparent

<sup>1</sup> Athenian coin. Solon, seated, resting his hand on a post on which are engraved his laws. (See Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 409.) The Athenians kept in the Prytaneion their "turning-posts" (*ἀξονες*), on which were engraved Solon's laws.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of a frieze of the Parthenon (from a cast).

than real, a direct income-tax being established only in cases of urgent necessity; while the indirect tax on imports was permanent, and paid by poor and rich alike.<sup>1</sup>

We know that weights and measures were in use in the villages buried under the lava of Santorin;<sup>3</sup> still more important was it that the commercial and industrial cities of Greece, where taxation was based on the products of the land, should have official standards.

ATHENIAN OBOLOS.<sup>2</sup>METRIC MONUMENT.<sup>4</sup>

Rome also had them, and kept them in her Capitol, and we, in modern times, preserve ours in our great scientific establishments.

<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps of this difference in the rate of taxation and in the various burdens which weighed exclusively on the rich, and the gratuitous service as magistrates in the first three classes, that Aristotle was thinking when he says in his *Politics*, ii. 5, that Solon made it his task to level fortunes.

<sup>2</sup> Helmeted head of Athene, right profile. Reverse, ΑΘΕ. Owl standing; in the field a sprig of olive. Archaic style. For the value of the obolos see p. 531, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> A marble table found at Gythion in Lakonia, from Le Bas and Foucart, *Inscriptions du Péloponnèse, Commentaire*, p. 117, No. 241 b. This is an official standard or *σήκωμα*, having five cavities, of which four are entire:—

|  |             |                   |
|--|-------------|-------------------|
| In the centre, the <i>χοῦς</i> . . . . .   | Diam. 0.270 | Capacity 15 l. 26 |
| At the right the <i>ἡμικτρον</i> . . . . . | " 0.185     | " 3 l. 89         |
| " " the <i>[ἡμί]ν[α]</i> . . . . .         | " 0.110     | " 0 l. 93         |
| " left, the <i>κοτύλη</i> . . . . .        | " 0.110     | " " "             |

The inscription, Θεοῖς σε]βαστοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει Κάρπος . . . [ἀ]γορανομῶν ἀνέθηκεν τὰ μέτρα, tells us that these measures were consecrated to the emperors and the city by a person named Karpos, at the time *agoranomos*; that is to say, superintendent of the market. The monument probably belongs to the second century of the Christian era.

## V.—POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

FOUR political bodies formed the government,—the college of archons, the council of the Areiopagos, the senate, and the assembly.

The archons were always nine in number, and, like the priests, must be free from any personal defect.<sup>1</sup> They shared among themselves the executive power in the manner described above; and they retained their early judicial functions, except that appeals might be made from their decisions to certain tribunals composed from all classes, the members being designated by lot.<sup>2</sup> On their entrance into office the archons swore fidelity to the laws; at the expiration of their term they rendered account of their administration to the general assembly, and were admitted into the council of the Areiopagos. So long as they were in office their persons were sacred.

“The true archons,” says Plutarch, “that held the ship of State, even in the midst of storms, were the Areiopagos and the Senate, or Council of Four Hundred.”

The Areiopagos, an ancient and highly respected court of justice, held its sessions on the Hill of Ares, in the open air, that the judges might not be defiled by being under the same roof with a criminal. It had cognizance of crimes of murder, mutilation, poisoning, and treason, and was composed of those who had previously been archons; hence, in general, of aged and experienced men. Solon erected it into a supreme tribunal, and

<sup>1</sup> Lysias, *Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου*, 13 (edit. Didot, p. 201). (See, for other causes of incapacity, Chapter XIX.) Originally the archons must be Athenians of pure race; that is to say, with ancestors of Athenian blood on both sides: *εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκ τριφυρίας* (Pollux, viii. 85). This obligation by degrees disappeared. In the time of Demosthenes, or of the *Speech against Neaira*, the sons of naturalized citizens might become archons. In regard to the mode of appointment in early times, it was by election, and later by lot, with precautions which, at least in cases of importance, lessened the disadvantages of the latter system. See, later, the reforms of Kleisthenes.

<sup>2</sup> These were the tribunals of the *dikastes*, which will be more fully described later. Many writers refuse to admit, notwithstanding the positive affirmation of Plutarch (*Solon*, 19), that there could be appeal from the sentence of the archons. Grote, even, does not believe in the judicial power of the *dikasts* before the reforms of Kleisthenes. Doubtless it is difficult to distinguish which of these reforms belong to Solon, which to Kleisthenes, and which to Perikles. But without this court, would the people have had for their defence the shield which Solon boasts that he gave it?

intrusted it with the superintendence of the city. He made it, we are told, "an overseer of everything and the guardian of the laws," even empowered to call persons to account for extravagant living, and to reward cases of remarkable industry. When heinous crimes had been committed, and the guilty party was not known, or no accuser had appeared, the Areiopagos was expected to inquire into the subject. On one occasion we know that this court apprehended an individual who had been acquitted by the assembly, and brought him again to trial, securing his condemnation. The Areiopagites also had duties connected

THE TWO URNS.<sup>1</sup>PALLAS AT THE AREIOPAGOS.<sup>3</sup>

with religion, one of which was the protection of the olive-trees of Athene.

The members of the Areiopagos held office for life, but might be expelled by a vote of their colleagues, as was that Areiopagite who had been seen in a disreputable house,<sup>2</sup> and another, we are told, who had killed a bird which had sought shelter on his breast from a hawk. The forms of procedure of the Areiopagos were solemn and severe. It sat by night,<sup>4</sup> presided over by the second archon. No appeal to feelings or passions was allowed either to

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Gallery Giustiniani, from Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. gr. et rom.*, fig. 492, p. 399. Athene deposits her vote, in the presence of one of the Erinyes (?) in the principal urn (κύριος κἀδίσκος). The other urn (ἄκυρος κἀδίσκος) has been thrown upon the ground.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, xii. 21, 233.

<sup>3</sup> Cameo, agate of three layers; from Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquites*, vol. ii. pl. xlv. No. ii. See for the description of this scene the *Orestes* of Aischylos, and the fragment quoted in Chapter XX. of this work. Behind Athene, who is depositing her vote in the urn, is Orestes, attentive and anxious. His right foot is placed on the stone (λίθος ὑβρεως) whereon the accused stood while speaking; behind him is his sister Elektra, who is also with Orestes on the Corsini vase, where the same scene is represented. At the right, under an olive-tree, is the statue of Athene.

<sup>4</sup> Lucian, at least, says this, *Hermot.*, 64; but we find the statement nowhere else, unless this may be the meaning in the words of Aischylos quoted later.

the accused or the accuser, and the assistance of an advocate was not permitted; a simple recital of facts was to be made, after a solemn oath to speak nothing but the truth. To vote, the Areiopagites took a stone from the altar and deposited it silently in the urn of Pity, which was of brass, or in that of Death, which was of wood. If there was a tie, the herald put one more stone into the urn of Pity, — this was Athene's vote. The goddess had thus saved Orestes, it was said. The decision was without appeal; but the guilty person might exile himself before the sentence was pronounced, and the law protected his person until he should reach the frontier.<sup>1</sup> This venerated assembly, which Aischylos calls "the city's bulwark," a council

" . . . pure from bribe,  
Reverend, and keen to act, for those that sleep  
An ever-watchful sentry of the land," — <sup>2</sup>

derived its chief strength from public opinion; whence it resulted that its influence diminished with the respect of the Athenians for their ancient institutions.

The Areiopagos was the guardian of the mysterious books in which were indicated the means of securing the safety of the city.<sup>3</sup> But the Greeks, superstitious though they were, had too much intelligence to give to ancient follies the robust confidence which the Romans yielded to the Sibylline oracles. The books of the Areiopagos play no part in Athenian history.

The four hundred senators were chosen out of the first three classes. Each one of the four tribes furnished a hundred members, elected by a majority of votes, and later, designated by lot, of which the errors were then corrected by the severe tests to which the candidates were subjected. One single fact marks well the difference between the Athenian senate (*βουλή*) and that of Lacedæmon (*γερονσία*), and also the character of the two States. At Sparta, no man was admitted to the senate before the age of

<sup>1</sup> This custom also existed at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> *Eumenides*, 671, 674-676.

<sup>3</sup> Dinarchos, *Speech against Demosthenes*, § 9: ὁ φυλάττει τὰς ἀπορρήτους θήκας. ἐν αἷς τὰ τῆς πόλεως σωτήρια κείται.

NOTE. — The engraving on the opposite page is taken from a photograph. In the rock are visible the steps leading up to the plateau. At the right is the temple of Theseus; in the background the olive-grove; and on the horizon Mount Aigaiolos, which shuts in, on the west, the plains of Attika.



THE AREIOPAGOS.



sixty; the tenure of office was for life, and the decisions of the assembly were protected by the irresponsibility of its members. At Athens, the age fixed is thirty, the senate is annually renewed, and it must give account of its decisions. We have already indicated how important a democratic principle this is. Moreover, what a difference in respect to the energetic action of a government, between the decisions of a senate of old men, and those of a senate of men in the full vigor of body and mind!

The senate prepared laws to be submitted to the popular assembly, had charge of the finances and of the administration, rendered decrees which had the force of laws for the year, and, lastly, imposed certain fines. It was divided into ten sections of equal number, called *Prytaneis*, who acted as presidents of the senate and of the assembly during thirty-five or thirty-six days.<sup>2</sup> Each *Prytaneis* during its period of service met at the *Prytaneion*, and was occupied with affairs of immediate concern. The members had their meals there at the expense of the State.

MARBLE BAS-RELIEF.<sup>1</sup>

The senate was the perpetual council of the people; but the people itself held the supreme authority. The popular assembly, convoked by the senate, was composed of all the citizens;<sup>3</sup> usually only a small number assembled in the Agora. The man of foreign birth who might have ventured to enter here before having obtained citizenship would have been punished with death or sold as a slave, for he had made usurpation of the sovereign power. The assembly met either in the Agora—a site not determined with complete certainty—or at the Pnyx, which seems, notwithstanding opinions

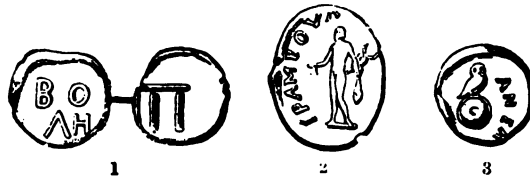
<sup>1</sup> Marble bas-relief, at the head of an Athenian decree, probably a treaty of alliance; from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, pl. xxii. No. 94. Behind Athene, helmeted and armed with the spear, stands the council (ΒΟΛΗ = Βουλή), represented as a female figure of equal height with the goddess; towards them advances, in an attitude of adoration, a smaller figure, which probably represents the people or city making alliance with Athens.

<sup>2</sup> [To complete the lunar year of 354 days. — ED.]

<sup>3</sup> As to their number, see Chapter XIX.



to the contrary, to have been on the north of the hill of the Muses, where the rock is hewn out leaving a platform (the *bema*) ten feet high. The session opened with a sacrifice and a prayer;<sup>1</sup> then a statement of the subject to be considered was read aloud, and the herald invited those who had useful counsel to offer the State to ascend the *bema*. The vote was given by raising the hand, without distinction of class or fortune. The assembly made the laws,

LEADEN TESSERÆ.<sup>2</sup>

elected magistrates who should give account to it at the expiration of their office, and deliberated on the public affairs which were submitted to it by

the senate. It approved, rejected, or modified. Any citizen had a right to bring a proposition before the people, but no man, even an archon, could do this without the senate's agency in the matter. Any citizen over twenty years of age might speak in the assembly, but those of fifty spoke first,—a trivial privilege in comparison with the great power of the older men at Sparta. Was this granting enough to experience? Was it not leaving too much to youthful enthusiasm? A century and a half later, Aristophanes complained bitterly of the disdain the Athenians professed for the aged. We may remark, however, that custom was more strict than the law, and it was unusual to see in the tribune any other than the State orators, — ten citizens who were appointed, after a public examination, as the verbal defenders of the interests of Athens. This function was very influential and very honorable. Any citizen might bring suit against a public orator if the latter's life were not irreproachable; if he were a bad son or a bad soldier; if he had proposed a decree contrary to

<sup>1</sup> The place where the assembly met was purified in advance with lustral water poured upon the ground; hence the words of Aristophanes: *ἐνρὸς τοῦ καθάρματος* (*Acharnians*, 44). The same was done where the judges were to meet (*Id.*, *The Wasps*, 860).

<sup>2</sup> Leaden tesserae relating to the senate. From the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. (1884) pl. i. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 (A. Engel). 1. In the field of the first tessera is the inscription BOAH (*Βουλῇ*); reverse, the incomplete or effaced figures 500. 2. Token of the secretary of the senate, with the inscription ΓΡΑΜ[μῆρας] BOYA[ῆς]. Hermes, standing, holding a purse and a caduceus. 3. Token of the Prytaneion, with the inscription [Πρυρ]ΑΝΕΑ [*Πρυτανεία*]. An owl, standing on a shield. None of these tokens had the value of money; they are only seals, devices of private individuals or of magistrates.

existing laws. In this case, the suit was brought in the name of the old laws, and the orator was punished with exile or a ruinous fine.<sup>1</sup> When speaking he wore upon his head the wreath of myrtle



THE PNYX AND BEMA OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE.<sup>2</sup>

of the senator and the magistrate: this was the symbol which designated the citizen speaking or acting in behalf of the State.

The number of votes necessary for a valid decision in the assembly was not fixed, except in rare cases, where six thousand were required. Thucydides remarks that the assembly rarely consisted of more than five thousand members; and this was because

<sup>1</sup> This was the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, which might be called "action for cause of illegality." Cf. the speech of Demosthenes *Against Timokrates*.

<sup>2</sup> From a photograph. The *bema* faces northward. At the orator's right are the Areiopagos and the Akropolis. Niches in the wall at the east were destined to receive ex-votos, and it appears from inscriptions that they were usually consecrated to Zeus. Hence it has been maintained that this is not an orator's platform, but an altar of Zeus. Those who maintain the other view admit that this is not the spot where Perikles stood; and it is certain that the *bema* of the ancient Pnyx looked towards the sea.

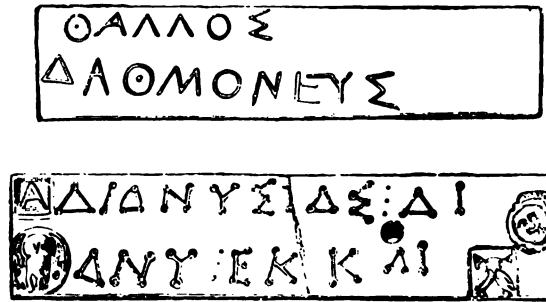
the Athenians were not, like the Spartans, an oligarchical community whom the Helots supplied with food. In Attika the citizen earned his bread as a farmer, an artisan, or a trader. The law itself, prohibiting idleness, and requiring each man to declare annually by what occupation he lived, was made to maintain the habit of labor. It even became necessary, at the last, to indemnify the citizens for their attendance at the assembly.<sup>1</sup> And then the talkative Athenian forgot himself gossiping in the market-place, while the *prytaneis*, with a few faithful citizens, waited vainly in the Pnyx, until it became necessary to send out the Scythian slaves — who served as police in those days — to bring the oblivious sovereign to his duties. These slaves went up and down the city armed with a rope dipped in vermillion, and with it marked the tardy legislators, who were then fined. At their approach all men ran, to arrive unmarked at the place of assembly. It is easy to see how wearisome must have been, to this gay and turbulent people, some of the long sessions, whence no man could go out before the close, on penalty of a fine. In what mood, also, did the citizen present himself at times! See, in the hero of the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, that friend of peace, at heart a good fellow, who takes his seat in the Pnyx with the determination in advance to interrupt any man who speaks of war. What life, what activity, what attacks of wit and raillery, what interpellations, what interruptions, what tumults! How can a man be silent and attentive who has just come in from the Peiræus, from sailors' wrangles, from the sight of vessels and crowds of people in motion, from shouts on shipboard, sounds of the sea, — when eyes and ears are still full of so many diverse, mobile, tumultuous scenes? But in Solon's time we are still very remote from the period when this picture would be a true one.

Besides in the general assembly, the popular power was further exercised by tribunals over which the archons presided, and by the corps of heliasts, who, according to a later regulation, consisted of five thousand citizens, at least thirty years of age, and selected by lot, without distinction of fortune, with only the condition of being of good reputation and not in debt to the public treasury.<sup>2</sup> These

<sup>1</sup> See later (Chapter XIX.) the constitution of Athens in the time of Perikles.

<sup>2</sup> Isokrates, in his *Panegyric*, § 40, p. 29 (edit. Didot), pays honor to Athens for being the

dikasts<sup>1</sup>—divided into ten sections of five hundred each, corresponding to the ten tribes into which the city was divided by Kleisthenes—tried the most important criminal cases and offences against the State. Their number showed them to be the justice of the people in action, and made it impossible for an offender, however rich or

TABLETS OF HELIASTS.<sup>2</sup>

powerful, to bribe or intimidate this tribunal, where almost the whole city sat as judges.<sup>3</sup> The oath taken by them<sup>4</sup> implied the obligation to judge according to the laws and to punish the authors of illegal propositions, which gave a right of supervision over the acts of the general assembly, which its own organization did not

first among Greek cities to institute tribunals to terminate disputes by argument, and no longer by violence. (Cf. Dareste, *Les Plaidoyers politiques de Démosthène*.) In primitive communities the punishment of theft or murder concerns the injured parties; the tribe deals only with crimes against itself, -- treason, usurpation, or cowardice in the presence of the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> Also called heliasts, from the Heliiaia, a public place in Athens where the court held its sessions in the open air (*ἥλιος*). At Athens, as at Rome, the procedure was distinct from the sentence. The judge instructed; a jury gave the decision.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, 1878 (O. Rayet). By means of these bronze tablets used as cards, the citizens inscribed in the Heliiaia established their position. Besides the name of the heliast and of the demos to which he belonged, the tablet bore also, 1st, a letter indicating the section of the Heliiaia of which the owner made part; 2d, one or more devices, marks of the official supervision. This is lacking on the first of our two tablets: Thallos, of the demos Athmonon. The Δ indicates the fourth section. The second tablet bears three stamps: at the left an owl, at the right a Gorgon's head, and a double owl with one head. Dionysios, son of Dionysios, of the demos Koiles (*ἐκ Κοίλης*), belonged to section A.

<sup>3</sup> The ancient States had no body of hereditary judges, nor — assured as their judiciary was of public respect — had they any armed force to protect the tribunal. By the composition of its tribunals Athens caused justice to be done in nearly the same way that the laws were made; so that the whole people seemed to have decided in any given case, and there could be no recourse to it by appeal after the sentence. No suit lasted longer than one day.

<sup>4</sup> The formula of this oath, prescribed in the speech against Timokrates, has given philologists cause to doubt its authenticity.

protect from rash votes. This institution was a complement and a sanction of the political power exercised by the assembly; and as the heliasts changed every year, they were animated by the same spirit with the people of whom they were a part.

To reduce the number of cases brought before the heliasts, Solon had established that citizens sixty years of age might be chosen, by agreement of the two parties, and constitute a tribunal of arbitration, from whose sentence there should be no appeal. There were also public arbitrators (*diaitetai*) in each tribe,—a kind of inferior judges. They were so numerous that we find, in an inscription recently discovered, mention of one hundred and four in a single year.

The tribunal of the fifty-one *Ephetai*, who tried cases of homicide, involuntary or justifiable, has already been mentioned as a very ancient Athenian court, possibly instituted before the time of Drako. These judges were over fifty years of age, and selected from noble families. A part of their duty was to grant purification to the innocent shedder of blood, by means of certain rites prescribed by the sacred law of Athens, which was known only to the old nobility.<sup>1</sup> Hence the aristocratic character of this court, which the progress of democracy finally deprived of all importance.

The usual penalties were fines, confiscations, imprisonment, and death; a special penalty, the *atimia*,<sup>2</sup> deprived a citizen of the whole or a part of his civic rights.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pollux, *Onomastikon*, viii. 125.

<sup>2</sup> [This was a kind of outlawry. It is mentioned, without being defined, in Solon's legislation, thus showing that it was an idea familiar to the Athenians. It was the penalty of a numerous class of crimes: giving or accepting bribes, the embezzlement of public money, manifest cowardice in the presence of the enemy, false witness, insult to magistrates in the discharge of their duty, etc. This was perpetual and total, affected both person and property, and descended to children. A second *atimia* was less a punishment than a means of securing obedience to the laws. This was an *atimia* of public debtors. Any citizen who, for any cause, owed money to the public treasury and refused or was unable to pay it, was in a state of total *atimia*. If this situation lasted beyond the ninth *prytaneia* (about ten months), the debt was doubled, and the debtor's property was taken by law and sold. If the sum obtained was sufficient to pay off the debt, the *atimia* ceased, otherwise it continued to the debtor, and after his death to his children, until the full amount was recovered by the treasury. A third and partial *atimia* deprived the individual of certain rights as a citizen, differing and specified in different cases. The offences incurring partial *atimia* were usually false accusations, or those which were not made good before the courts. — ED.]

<sup>3</sup> We may distinguish three periods in the legislation of Athens in respect to criminal justice. "First, the laws relative to homicide (*οἱ φονικὸι νόμοι*), ancient customs mingled with religious ideas. Compiled by Drako in the seventh century B. C., respected by Solon, they

We remark that of the three deliberative bodies, the assembly represented the democratic element, — progress, as we say now ; the senate, the aristocracy of wealth, the moneyed interest ; and lastly, the Areiopagos, quite like the senate of Sparta, the aristocracy of



ATHENE AND THE PEOPLE PERSONIFIED.<sup>1</sup>

age and public office, experience in affairs. the conservative spirit which, carried too far, may become the desire, the necessity of remaining motionless. This mixed and tempered system characterized the genius of Solon, and shows the difficulties he had to encounter. He very skilfully conciliated hostile interests ; the

were republished during the archonship of Diokles, in 409 B. C. We next find the laws of Solon, probably amplified by Kleisthenes after the definitive triumph of democracy. Thence come the institution of popular tribunals (*γραφαί*), and the assimilation of the criminal and civil procedures. Finally, in the second half of the fifth century, the strifes of parties and the rivalries of orators multiply political prosecutions. A new form of criminal trials is introduced and spreads rapidly. At once more prompt and more vigorous, it contains especially two innovations, — the indictment by decree of the assembly, and the prosecution by a public officer" (R. Dareste, *Les plaidoyers politiques de Démosthène*, Introd., p. v). Our principal information as to the criminal law of Athens is derived from the speech of Demosthenes *Against Aristokrates*.

<sup>1</sup> Marble bas-relief used as a heading to the accounts of the treasurers of Athene and the other gods, in the year 398-397 B. C. : from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. ii. (1878) pl. x. The People, of the same height with the goddess, and leaning on a sceptre, grasps the hand of Athene. For similar representations see P. Foucart, *ibid.*, p. 39, and A. Dumont, pp. 559-569.

people gained much, and still the nobles made no opposition, because, themselves possessing all the property, they did not see the scope of this democratic substitution of wealth for birth, of fortune, which may be lost or gained, for noble blood, which a man derives only from his ancestors. This is the same peaceful revolution which, about the same time, Servius Tullius effected at Rome.

A magistracy which had great fame at Rome, the office of censors, was never known in Athens. We have seen, however, that a censorship existed nevertheless, — exercised by the Areiopagos, exercised by any citizen, — and that the candidate for public office was subjected to an examination (the δοκιμασία), whose conditions were severe.<sup>1</sup> It would have been better, doubtless, if this authority had belonged to a special magistracy; and yet, in Rome, the censorship was ineffectual when the overflow of evil passions came. The most useful censorship is the purity of public morals. At Athens there was neither the taking of the census nor the great Roman solemnity of the *lustratio*.<sup>2</sup> However, there was an annual purification of the city, with religious ceremonies to expiate and efface whatever might have offended the gods.<sup>3</sup>

It is possible that some of the details we have given above were introduced later, especially by Kleisthenes; but apart from these, the legislation of Solon may be clearly apprehended. As he himself says in one of his songs of triumph, he put an end to the exasperation of the poor against the rich, and gave to each party, not a sword with which to attack and gain a fatal victory, but a shield for protection and defence.<sup>4</sup>

We remark further that the share given by Solon even to the poorest in the general assembly and in the tribunals, shows that this truly wise man had the highest respect for the dignity of

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XIX.

<sup>2</sup> See *History of Rome*, i. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Hipponax, *Fr.* 60, in the *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* of Bergk. Before this time Athens had been purified by Epimenides, and Delos by Peisistratos; and during the Peloponnesian War, Delos was again purified by the Athenians.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle praises him for having been the first to establish a mixed government (καλῶς μίξαντα τὴν πολιτείαν). "In fact we find an oligarchy in the Areiopagos, aristocracy in the mode of election of magistrates, and democracy in the form of the tribunals. But some reproach him (μὲμφονται τινες) with having himself destroyed this equilibrium, by giving the supreme decision to judges designated by lot" (*Politics*, ii. 10).

A detailed black and white map of Athens, Greece, showing the city's layout, major landmarks, and surrounding areas. The map includes labels for various districts such as KOLLYTOS, KERYRAI, KERYDAI, and KYDATHENAION. It also shows the Acropolis, the Temple of Athena, and the Parthenon. The map is oriented with North at the top, indicated by a compass rose in the bottom left corner. The map is titled 'ATHENS' in the center.

Scale





man, and understood that good laws are those which elevate the citizen, not those which debase and degrade him. At Athens there were no political pariahs; Solon desired every citizen to have a sufficiently clear apprehension of the public interests to vote wisely in the assembly, and of laws to decide aright in the tribunals. All men, poor as well as rich, slaves no less than free, are summoned to the festivals, which, while they represent and develop the religious sentiment, awaken also patriotism and a feeling for art. What an education for the people was this continual exercise of the highest faculties! When we see the Athenians moreover, at contests between poets, sculptors, and painters, called upon to decide between Aischylos and Sophokles, Zeuxis and Polygnotos, Pheidias and Polykletos, we surely cannot wonder that they became the most intellectual people that ever lived.

#### VI. — CIVIL INSTITUTIONS; INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE; FOREIGNERS AND SLAVES.

THE tie which unites civil and political institutions is less evident at Athens than at Sparta. There is not that rigidity which exists in the city of Lykourgos, where the man disappears, to leave only the citizen, everywhere and always chained to the State.

Property is not absorbed by the State at Athens, nor is it hampered by the narrow formalism in the modes of its acquisition that we find at a later day in Italy; it exists, on the contrary, in all the liberty and independence which make it a real fact. Solon founded this liberty by his law as to wills. "Until his time," says Plutarch, "the Athenians had not the liberty of making testamentary disposal of their property; the property of the citizen dying childless reverted to his *gennetai*. Solon, rating friendship higher than kinship, and liberty of choice higher than constraint, and wishing that every man should be truly master of what he possessed, permitted those who were without children to dispose of their property as they pleased. He did not approve of all kinds of legacies indiscriminately; he authorized only those

that were made by men of sound mind, unconstrained by violence and uninfluenced by solicitations." Nor did the *gennetai* inherit in the absence of a will. If there were children, the sons shared equally, and according to the ancient custom they provided a dowry for their sisters. If there were no sons, the daughter inherited; but the lack of sons was regarded as a calamity because, as the daughter could not continue the domestic worship, the ancestral Manes were left without the funeral honors necessary for their repose. The illegitimate son had no right to the inheritance (which in this case fell to the nearest of kin); he was not even a citizen; but an inquiry as to his paternity was allowed to the son of an Athenian mother. The father could, moreover, disinherit his son if the family council consented to the act, after a discussion which the public authority sanctioned.<sup>1</sup>

Many Greek cities had prohibited celibacy; Plato repeats in his *Laws* that the citizen unmarried at the age of thirty-five should be subjected to a fine of a hundred drachmas, and should have no right to claim from the young the marks of respect and honor due to seniority.<sup>2</sup> We know not whether Solon had need of like severity. In his time religion was still obeyed; and as religion demanded that the domestic hearth should always have its offerings and the dead their libations, it imposed marriage. A family which does not perpetuate itself implies an extinct hearth, a neglected tomb, and ancestors deprived of the honors which are their consolation in the other world.

As the Athenian maiden lived a very retired life, marriages were contracted chiefly at the option of the parents, and usually

<sup>1</sup> Caillemer, *Le droit de succession à Athènes*, p. 25; R. Dareste, *Le testament d'Épicléta* (*Nouv. rev. hist. du droit*, 1882, p. 250). In respect to the child born after his parents are divorced, see the learned study of Dareste on the law of Gortyna, which treats of persons, property, and inheritances in Krete.

<sup>2</sup> In the fourth book of the *Laws*, *ad fin.*, and in book vi. At Rome the censors also laid a fine upon celibates (Val. Max., ii. 9), and Cicero is justly of opinion that this neglect of a civic duty ought to be punished. *Censores*, he says, *celibes esse prohibento* (*De Leg.*, iii. 3).

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a fragment of a marble base discovered at Athens near the theatre of Dionysos (from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, plates v., vi.). The base is circular, and decorated with four masques of Silenos, connected by garlands. It bore, no doubt, an offering to Dionysos. The inscription, thought to be of the second century B. C., is thus expressed: "Pistokrates and Apollodoros, sons of Satyros, of the demos Auridai, having been the leaders of the *πομπή* (or religious procession), and having been elected archons of the *γένος* of the Bakchiadai, consecrated." The Athenian *gene* had at their head an archon selected from among the *gennetai*.





in the month *Gamelion* (January–February), — a time when Nature begins to awake from her winter sleep.<sup>1</sup> This solemnity was always accompanied by religious ceremonies: first, sacrifices in



NUPTIAL SCENE.<sup>2</sup>

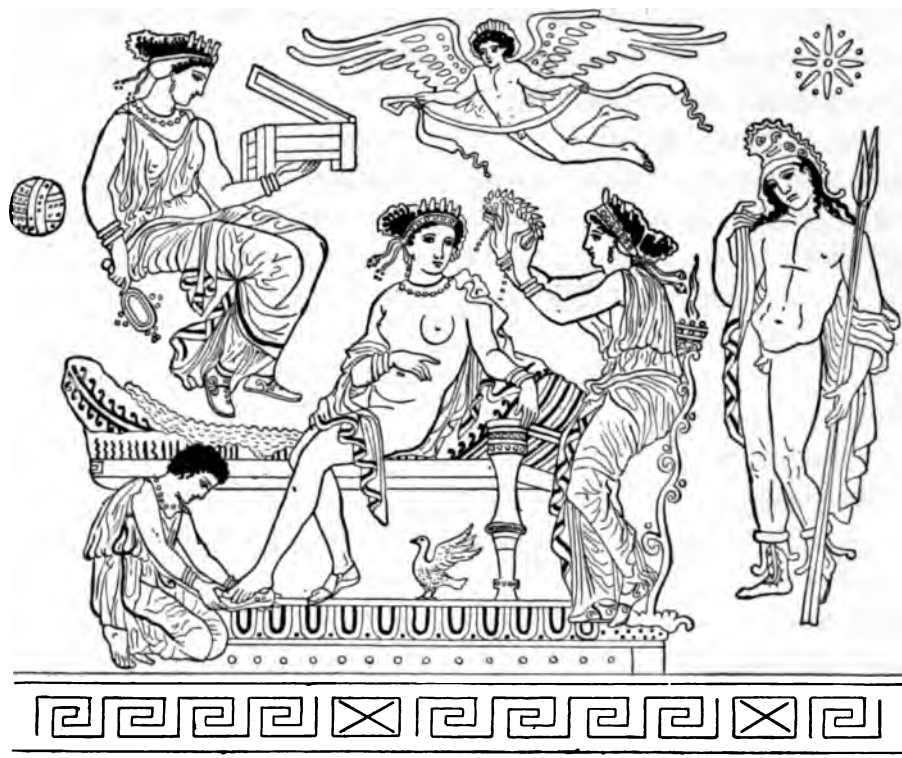
honor of the gods, protectors of marriage; then, the bath in sacred water which young girls draw for the purpose from the fountain Kallirrhoë.<sup>3</sup> After the final repast of the bride in her

<sup>1</sup> According to the law of Gortyna, the girl may be married "at twelve years and upwards."

<sup>2</sup> Taking off the bride's veil. Group in terra-cotta, discovered at Myrina, in the excavations undertaken by the French School of Athens, and now in the Louvre. (Cf. *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. x. (1886) p. 321.) The husband is turning towards his young companion, who is seated beside him on a richly ornamented couch. She is closely wrapped in her peplos, and a long veil which the youth has just removed from her face: this is the unveiling, or *ἀνακαλύψις*. This very beautiful group should be compared with the famous painting, the Aldobrandine Wedding, in the *History of Rome*, vol. v., frontispiece to Section II. Both these works of art leave the same impression of composure and serene gravity.

<sup>3</sup> The fountain Kallirrhoë is represented upon a vase, of which we reproduce the painting on p. 557, from Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenh.*, vol. iv. pl. 307. Six young girls come to draw the water for the nuptial bath; each holds in her hand a branch. The fountain is designated

father's house, she awaits, dressed in gala attire, her husband, who takes her away in a chariot, followed by a train of young



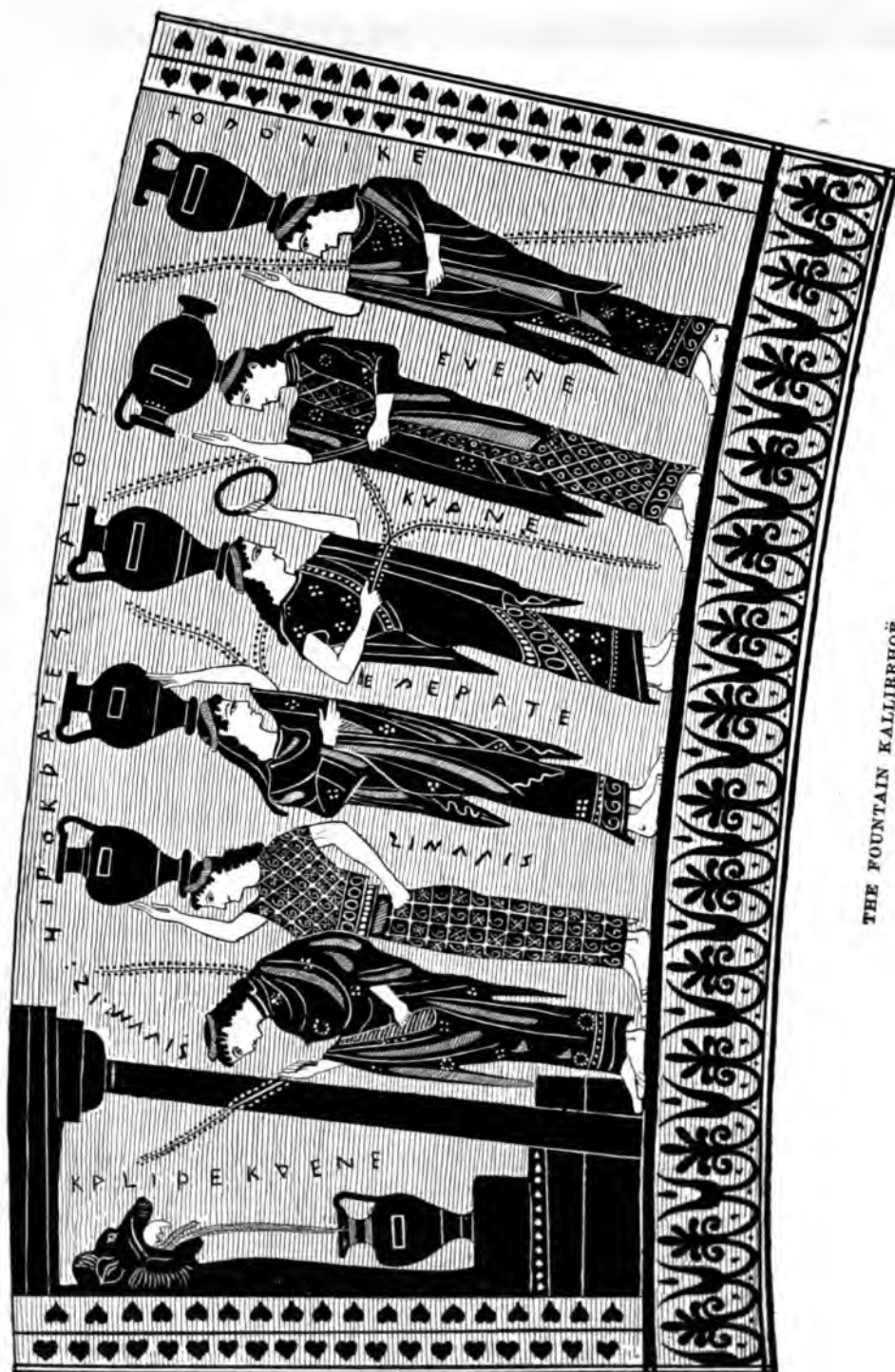
TOILET OF HELEN.<sup>1</sup>

girls singing the *epithalamion*. Theokritos gives us some details of this in the wedding-song of Helen:—

“When the fair-haired Menelaos married her, such a one as no other of Greek women that treads the earth, the twelve first maidens of the city, pride of the Spartan women, formed the dance before the newly-tapestried nuptial chamber, and began to sing, beating time to one melody with many-twinkling feet, and the house re-echoed with the marriage hymn.

by the inscription; KAIVPE (*sic*) KPENE (Καλλιπρόη κρήνη), and the girls are named: Σιμυλῖς (twice repeated, it appears), Ἐπηράτε, Κυανή, Εὐηνή, Χορονίκη (Simylis, Eperate, Kyane, Eyene, Choronike).

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting (amphora of Ruvo) from R. Rochette, *Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée*, pl. xix. a, and Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, pl. xii. 6. Helen is seated on a couch covered with brilliant drapery. Three of her women are occupied with her toilet: one fastens a sandal to her left foot, another places a wreath of myrtle on her head, a third, at the left, holds a mirror and a jewel-box. Above Helen hovers Eros, a long scarf in his hand; at her feet is a dove. At the right stands Paris, identified by his Phrygian mitre and his brodequins; he stops, seeming to hesitate, in the background.



THE FOUNTAIN KALLIRHOE.





"As the rising morn would show out its beauteous face against the night, or as bright spring when winter has relaxed; so also the golden Helen was wont to shine out amongst us.

"For we are playmates all, who had the same course to run, like men. When we had anointed ourselves, on the banks of the Eurotas, four times sixty damsels, a youthful band of maidens, of whom not one would be faultless, if haply she were compared with Helen.

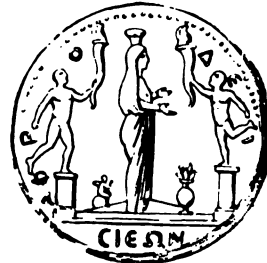
"As a tall cypress hath shot up, an ornament to a fertile field or garden, or a Thessalian steed to a chariot, thus also the rosy-complexioned Helen is an ornament to Lacedæmon.

"Neither does any maiden weave such work in the wool-basket, nor cut off from the long upright beams a closer warp in the curiously-wrought web, having woven it with the shuttle. No, nor is any so skilled to strike the cithern, singing of Artemis and broad-chested Athene, as Helen, in whose eyes are all loves.

"O beauteous, O graceful maiden, thou indeed art a matron now; but we in the morning shall go to the flowery fields, oft remembering thee. Helen! For thee first, having plaited a chaplet of low-growing lotos, we will place it on the shady plane-tree; and for thee first, taking moist oil from a silver flask, we will drop it beneath the shady plane-tree; and letters shall be engraved on the bark that any passer-by may read aloud in Doric: 'Reverence me, I am Helen's tree.' Hail, then, bride! hail, bridegroom, happy in thy father-in-law! May Leto indeed, Leto, the nurse of youth, grant to you the blessing of children; and Aphrodite, the goddess Aphrodite, that ye may be loved alike, one by the other; and Zeus, Zeus, son of Kronos, lasting riches, and that they may descend from nobly born to nobly born again!

"... At dawn we will return, when the earliest songster, having reared his crested neck, has crowed from his roost. Hymen, O Hymenaios, mayst thou rejoice over these nuptials!"

Marriage at Athens seems to have had more true dignity than at Sparta, though Solon manifestly regards it as a matter in which the State had a right to interfere. Families were not large, as a rule, and the exposure of infants was not infrequent,



HYMENAIOS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aphrodite standing, veiled, a modios on her head: before her, a vase of flowers; behind, a seated Eros. On each side of the goddess a cippus, on which stands a Hymenaios, bearing a lighted torch. Legend: ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΙΕΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze medallion struck at Aphrodisias in Karia, with the effigy of the Emperor Gordian the Pious.)

especially in the case of girls, who could not continue the family name and the domestic worship. We have seen what was the fate of the infant that appeared feeble. At Thebes parents who were too poor to rear their children were required to commit them to the public authorities; but it is not probable that this regulation was able to save many lives.<sup>1</sup>

It would be, however, a mistake to believe that marriage among the Greeks was merely a religious or civil act, devoid of affection, for this would be to suppose that human nature at that time was other than it is now. It is true that then, as now, legislation concerned itself with rites, not feelings; but Solon defines marriage in terms closely resembling those which we employ: "An intimate relation between a man and a woman, for the purpose of founding a new family and of enjoying the happiness of mutual affection." Hence his regulations as to dowries. The bride must bring to her husband only three robes and some articles of household furniture.<sup>2</sup> Careful of the woman's dignity, Solon restricts her liberty for the sake of decorum: he regulated the journeyings, the mourning, the sacrifices of the Athenian women; he forbade them to leave the city with more than three robes, to carry provisions of value exceeding an *obolos*, or to traverse the streets by night otherwise than in a chariot preceded by a torch-bearer. He

<sup>1</sup> Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> This regulation was good for ancient times. Upon the increase of wealth, the Athenian woman brought to her husband a marriage portion in personal and real estate. Of the former, the husband became owner, recognizing at the same time a right of creditorship in his wife which the law protected; of the latter he merely had the use for life, the property remaining with the wife and her heirs (Caillmer, *Études sur les antiquités juridiques d'Athènes*). The wife, then, had her own property; but for any civil act in relation to it she had need of a guardian. In an inscription recently found at Orchomenos, this guardian (*κύριος*) is the husband of a woman of Thespia who has lent eighteen thousand drachmas to the city of Orchomenos (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, iv. 15).

NOTE. — Opposite is given a painting from an Athenian amphora, from the *Monum. dell' Inst. archeol.*, vol. x. pl. xxxiv. "A young girl, closely wrapped in a mantle, advances, with bent head and an expression of grace and modesty; a crown of myrtle is represented behind her. She is preceded by a young girl in a peplos with broad border, carrying an amphora of the same form with the one on which is represented this scene. Before her walks a flute-player, crowned with myrtle, playing the double flute; a winged Eros is flying to meet the bride. At the head of the procession a woman (*nymphेत्रία*?) holds a torch in each hand (*δᾶδες νυμφικαί*). Behind the bride walks another woman draped in a *himation* with rich border, and holding a long flambeau. The composition ends with a female figure with the right hand lifted (Collignon, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée de la Société archéol. d'Athènes*, p. 128, No. 503). The two figures of No. 2 are painted on the other side of the amphora.





sanctioned an ancient custom of the family (*γένος*): if a young girl was left an orphan, her nearest relative on the paternal side must marry her; or, if not, furnish her with a dowry in proportion to his own means, and find her a husband. But he abolished the unnatural law which authorized the citizen to sell his son, his daughter, or his sister who had remained his ward, unless, in the case of the latter, her conduct had been such as to justify his severity.

In Athens the family preserves all its seclusion; it is respected, and is not exposed to the open day, as at Lacedæmon; neither is it absorbed, as it was later in Rome, in the *paterfamilias*. In Athens the authority of the husband and that of the father are only means of protection and defence. Solon even deprives the father of the old right to sell or kill his child. The infant grows in the arms of its parents, and the State does not gaze indiscreetly into the sanctuary of the domestic hearth. Hence result, between father and son, special relations and duties in



ENGRAVED  
STONE.<sup>1</sup>



BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

perfect conformity with Nature. At Sparta the son owes scarcely more respect to his father than to any other citizen of mature age; his father is to him nothing more than an old man, a member of the State. At Athens, Solon quotes unawares the language of the Ten Commandments, and Plato, at a later period, repeats it after him: "Honor the gods, and respect those who have given thee life."<sup>3</sup> Solon requires the son to support his infirm father, and before appointing the citizen to a high magistracy the law inquires if he has faithfully performed all filial duties, honoring his parents during their life and after their death.<sup>4</sup>

Up to the age of sixteen the Athenian parents bring up their boy as they please,—a custom disapproved by Aristotle, because this education, left to the parents, might be feeble and capricious.

<sup>1</sup> Two boys wrestling in the presence of their paidagogos. Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,857 of the *Catalogue*.

<sup>2</sup> Two Loves playing at huckle-bones. Reverse of a bronze coin of Aphrodisias in Karia. Legend: ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ. The obverse represents the head of the senate, with the legend ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ.

<sup>3</sup> Θεοὺς τίμα, γονέας αἰδοῦ. Euripides repeats this in the *Suppliants*, 362.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 22; Demosthenes, *Against Timokrates*, 106.

and would tend to the dissolution of the State. After the age of sixteen he attended the gymnasium, where the Hermes Hegemoneus, "the leader," presided over their exercises. It was not intended to fill the minds of children with a mass of information without developing the intellect. Their education was divided into studies of two kinds, — gymnastics, or the training of the body; and *Mousike*, the training of the mind. They were made to live with the



ATHENIAN  
TETRADRACHM.<sup>1</sup>

poets, guardians of heroic and sacred legends and of salutary maxims, — Homer, Hesiod, and the lyricists, whose gaze is almost always uplifted; with the philosophers, who had gathered up all human wisdom: and their instructors sought to inspire them with that spirit of order which underlies all Greek literature, and that love of harmony in all things which music gives. But

their minds were not overwhelmed with studies too prolonged and diverse, which enfeeble or ruin the physical constitution. Thus, for this twofold nature a twofold training: on the one hand, "the gifts of Apollo and the Muses;"<sup>2</sup> on the other, exercises favorable to the development of strength, suppleness, and beauty, — such was the system followed to make men and citizens and soldiers.



ATHLETES.<sup>3</sup>

At eighteen the youth attained civil majority: he might take possession of his patrimony; his name was inscribed on the list of the *epheboi*; and he entered upon his political and military novitiate. Each year the Athenians of this age assembled before the altar in the temple of Agraulos, and in the presence of the *exegetai*, the interpreters of the laws relating to religion and the sacred rites, took an oath by which they pledged themselves never to disgrace their arms or desert their comrades; to fight to the last in defence of their country, its altars and hearths; to leave their country not in a worse, but in a better state than

<sup>1</sup> The Hermes of the gymnasium holding a caduceus, — a symbol on the Athenian tetradrachm. Beulé gives him the name of Hegemoneus or Enodios (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 153).

<sup>2</sup> This is the expression used by Plato in the seventh book of the *Laws*.

<sup>3</sup> Two athletes of the gymnasium are about to strike, perhaps with the cestus; at the side of each is the vase containing oil, with which the Greek athletes rubbed their limbs. (Coin of uncertain designation. Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins* pl. iv. p. 31.)

they found it; to obey the magistrates and the laws; to resist all attempts to subvert the institutions of Attika; and, finally, to respect the religion of their forefathers.

After this heroic oath, the *epheboi* came under the charge of a magistrate appointed for the year,—the *kosmetes*. They received further instruction in philosophy, music, eloquence, and poetry,



A KOSMETES.<sup>1</sup>

to form their minds; they attended the festivals, where patriotism and worship were blended; they were present at public assemblies, to study the affairs of the State; and, lastly, as an apprenticeship in arms, they were sent into the country to keep watch in towns and fortresses on the coast and frontier. How complete this education of body and mind!<sup>2</sup> It was rendered needful, because merciless war forever prowled around the frontiers; and since there were no engines of war for defence, it was needful for

<sup>1</sup> Marble bust from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.* (1877), pl. iv. p. 233. This individual is Sosistratos, son of Sosistratos, of the demos of Marathon; he held office about the year 137 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning this institution, which was not peculiar to Athens, see Alb. Dumont, *Essai sur l'éphébie*, and Collignon, *De Collegiis epheborum apud Græcos excepta Attica*.



the hand-to-hand conflicts to have strong, active, enduring men, whose firm minds were ready for whatever sacrifices the country might demand of them.

At the age of twenty the young man attained political majority: he became a citizen in every sense of the word; he voted in the general assembly, and might even speak in it. As we have already said, these orators of twenty must have brought life and activity into the public assemblies, but also turbulence and disorder.

This twofold majority was in both cases premature; it spoke to the young man too early of his rights, and not long enough of his duties. However, it was not until the period of general demoralization, in which the best laws would have been powerless, that we see those young profligates who became types on the classic stage.

At the age of thirty the citizen may enter the senate.

At sixty he is exempt from military duty and at liberty to rest.

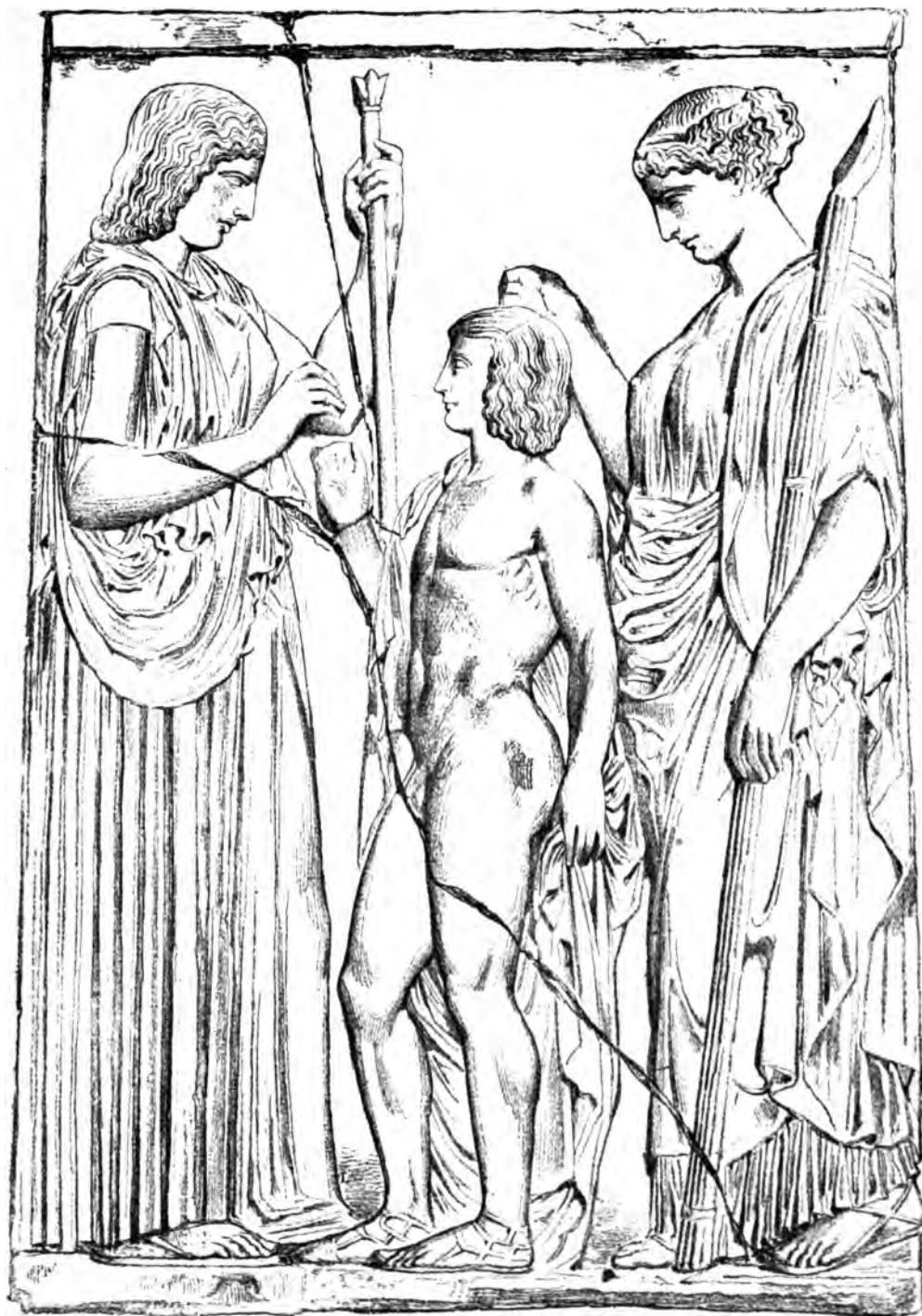
Adoption conferred the same rights as natural relationship, and for reasons drawn from the worship of the dead. "If you annul the adoption made by Menekles," an orator said to the Athenian judges, "he will have died childless; no one will offer libations to him, and he will enjoy no worship."<sup>1</sup>

It has been already said that Attika has a soil usually sterile, owing to the scarcity of water. It enjoys, however, exceptionally heavy dews; and the Athenians, seeing this moisture in the morning, were accustomed to render thanks for it to Aurora. Agriculture, however, was held in great honor, and the Greeks maintained that Triptolemos<sup>2</sup> was the first sower. The laws of Athens punished with death him who killed an ox,<sup>3</sup> and the prohibition was evaded only in the case of the sacrifice necessary for Zeus, the Guardian of

<sup>1</sup> Isaios, *Plea for the Inheritance of Menekles*, 10 *et seq.*; also in his argument *Concerning the Inheritance of Astyphilos*, 7.

<sup>2</sup> This legend perpetuated itself. We find it on the bas-relief celebrated as the "Bas-relief of Eleusis," discovered in 1859 at Eleusis near the Propylaion. (See next page.) Demeter, at the left, sceptre in hand, gives to the young Triptolemos the grain of corn, the first which was ever sown. Kora, standing behind the boy, holds a long torch in the left hand, and with the right places a wreath on his head. Few sculptures are more expressive, or better convey the profound religious sentiment which has inspired the artist. This work is of the fifth century B. C. Triptolemos, instructed by the two goddesses, goes over the lands on a winged car to teach agriculture. See above, p. 174, and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Varro, *De Re rust.*, ii. 5; Pausanias, I. xxiv. 4; Aelian, *Hist. var.*, viii. 3.



DEMETER, TRIPTOLEMOS, AND KORA.



the city. "They put barley on the altar," says Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> "and do not watch it; and the ox kept and fattened for sacrifice comes up and eats it. Then one of the priests, called the Ox-killer, strikes the ox a fatal blow, throws down his axe, and runs away. Those



AURORA POURING DEW UPON THE EARTH.<sup>2</sup>

present feign not to have seen what was done. They pick up the axe and carry it before the judge; it is condemned and sentenced, and thrown into the sea. Even after the time of Perikles, the cultivation of the ground and the superintendence of farming were

<sup>1</sup> I. xxiv. 4; Aelian, *Hist. var.*, viii. 3. In the Erechtheion, no living sacrifice was offered (Pausanias, I. xxvi. 5; VIII. ii. 3). It was said at Athens that Triptolemos had left three commands,—to honor one's parents; to offer the fruits of the earth to the gods; and to take the life of no animal. This last direction was one of those that spring from the character of the country. Attika has very little forage; that is to say, she has few cattle,—hence, and from the simplicity as to food which the climate prescribes, laws protecting animals. The modern Greek also eats but little meat, and the numerous fasts of his Church are observed without difficulty. How many religious commands are only instinctive laws of hygiene?

<sup>2</sup> Vase-painting from Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, pl. vi. Eos (AOS), or the Dawn, clad in a long chiton sown with stars, hovers in the air, holding the jars whence she pours dew upon the earth.

still the chief occupation of rich as well as poor; the worthy Strepsias, in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, has no other.

Solon then had no need to legislate in favor of agriculture. Desirous of encouraging industry and traffic, he made a law that every citizen should learn some trade. Jerusalem had a law to



BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

the same effect; and it is a singular coincidence that the two cities which have most profoundly influenced the world of mind are those also which have done most honor to the labor of the hands. According to a law of Solon, the father who had not caused his son to learn a trade could not require of him support in his own old age;<sup>2</sup>

and the Areiopagos, whose duty it was to secure to each citizen the means of subsistence, punished those who remained idle. Sparta, we have seen, proscribed labor, while Athens made it obligatory; in this lies all the difference between the fame and the destiny of one city and the other.

In order to keep commodities of prime necessity at a low price, Solon forbade the exportation of agricultural products, olive-oil alone excepted. This was an encouragement to manual labor. Another law made it a misdemeanor to reproach a citizen with gains that he had made in commercial transactions; but, on the other hand, the law forbade the trader to deal falsely in his business. This was an attempt to establish morality in trade.

Athens could have commercial relations by land only northwards.—with Boiotia and Megara. On all the other sides she was surrounded by the sea. Solon, the conqueror of Salamis, was one of the first to recognize the fine maritime position of Athens, although the advantages offered by the Piræus had not been fully appreciated in his time. He maintained the division of the territory of Attika into forty-eight naukraries (*ναυκραρίαι*), for purposes of taxation and military levies. The inhabitants of each naukrary were required to equip a galley: this was the foundation of the trierarchy, and of the maritime power of

<sup>1</sup> Bouzyges driving an ox. Legend: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens.) This may also represent Theseus driving the bull of Marathon to the Akropolis, in order to sacrifice him to Athene

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 22

Athens. At Lacedæmon, where all property was held in common, boys were exercised in theft, to develop their ingenuity; at Athens there was a penalty of death against the youth who should steal, in the gymnasium, objects valued at over ten drachmas.



A SMITHY.<sup>1</sup>

There was full liberty for the citizen to go and come. He might, if he desired, remove from the country and carry away with him all his property. "if," says Plato's Krito, "we or the State are displeasing to him."

A commercial and industrial people have no scornful pride towards men of other nations, since it is by frequent intercourse with foreigners that they secure and develop their prosperity.

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. xi. pl. xxix. 2. See in the *Annali*, 1881 (pp. 193 *et seq.*), Hugo Blümner's commentary. The scene represents a forge. At the left is the furnace; in the centre the anvil, on which a man holds, with a long pair of tongs, a piece of iron, whereon his work-fellow is about to strike with a heavy hammer. Another hammer and a second pair of tongs are on the ground. At the left are hung upon the wall the clothes of the smiths and various tools. At the right are seated, one on a smaller anvil, and one on a bench, two persons wrapped in mantles. Probably the taller is the master of the shop, superintending the work; the other is evidently a visitor. We know that the idle Athenian frequented shops and workshops, — preferably those of the hair-dressers and perfumers, of the shoemakers and blacksmiths. In winter especially, and as early as the time of Homer, men frequented smithies, the poor even passing the night there.

Far from closing Attika against immigration, Solon decreed that all should be welcome whom Athenian liberty might attract. He allowed citizenship to those only who were exiled for life from their native land, judging that it was no better to have



BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

two countries than to serve two masters; but he imprisoned, even before sentence was given, those who, without right to it, claimed the title of citizen, that the sovereign power might not be vitiated at its source by a mixture of impure elements; and it was not until the second generation that the archonship and the priesthood were open to the family of the new-comer.

Aliens resident at Athens bore the name of *metoikoi* (those residing with). Each family paid an annual tax of twelve drachmas, or of six if the head of the family was a widow. On failure to pay this tax not only did the family forfeit the protection of the State, but they were sold as slaves. This, for example, was about to be the fate of the philosopher Xenokrates, had not a rich citizen chanced to recognize him at the auction and paid his debt. Every alien was obliged to select a citizen for his patron (*prostates*), through whom alone he could transact legal business, whether public or private, and who was answerable to the State for his client's conduct. These obligations being fulfilled, the *metoikos* could carry on any business or profession, and was protected by the law. He could not, however, acquire landed property, and the custom grew up later of imposing upon aliens at the festivals certain humiliating obligations, — the carrying of some of the sacred vessels in the Panathenaic procession, while their daughters carried parasols over the heads of the Athenian maidens. It was the desire of Xenophon to abolish these irritating distinctions; and many of the *metoikoi* were in fact raised to the rank of citizens after the conclusion of long wars, while the general condition of aliens on Athenian soil was in some degree ameliorated. This they had indeed deserved, for they had shared in the perils of the common country, serving in the fleet as rowers or soldiers, and even in the armies as hoplites, — that is to say, among the national troops.

<sup>1</sup> Hermes, who presides over traffic, is standing, facing left, holding a purse and the caduceus; legend: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens.)



TEMPLE OF THESEUS.

From a photograph. The view is taken from the southwest.





The same liberal spirit prevailed in regard to slaves, and for the same reasons. Solon decreed that a slave, maltreated by his master, might demand to be sold and pass into milder hands. The law assured to them a protector, and while waiting for the decision they found in the temple of Theseus<sup>1</sup> an inviolable asylum. Any other person than his master striking or maltreating a slave was liable to punishment; but the reason for this law assigned by Xenophon has a Spartan acerbity: "If custom authorized a free man to strike any slave, alien, or freedman, any citizen might be the victim of a mistake; for there is nothing in dress or bearing to distinguish absolutely the slave or foreigner." Demosthenes, however, esteems it a glorious law of humanity. "And what would Barbarians say," he exclaims, "if they knew that your law protects even the slave brought from nations that have given you just cause for an hereditary hatred, and that often men violating this law have suffered the penalty of death!" "The law very justly," says Montesquieu, "is unwilling to add the loss of personal security to that of liberty." Slaves, like aliens, might enter for purposes of devotion temples whence the law expelled the adulteress,<sup>2</sup> and they were admitted to serve in the fleet as rowers or as marines. Those slaves who fought at the battle of the Arginousai were emancipated.

The Athenian constitution then made conditions in favor of the slave. Athens was rewarded for this clemency. Never, even in the time of her greatest peril, did she behold the outbreak of one of those servile wars which so often demanded from Sparta and Rome a terrible reckoning for their cruelty.<sup>3</sup> There were public

<sup>1</sup> The identification of the temple which is still standing south of the Areiopagos as the Theseion (see engraving on p. 573) has given rise to long discussions. Some scholars maintain that it is a temple of Ares; others of Herakles (in which case it would be the Herakleion of the demos of Melitos); others suggest Herakles and Theseus; and others still, Hephaistos and Athene.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*, § 115. If such an offender should enter a temple, it was lawful to drive her out with violence short of fatal injury. This oration, however, is considered spurious both by ancient and modern writers.

<sup>3</sup> The revolt of the slaves employed in the mines of Laureion is an isolated fact, local, and later by many centuries. Even at Athens, however, it was forbidden both to the *metoikoi* and to the slaves to learn music and to practise in the gymnasia, these pursuits being regarded as suitable for free men only. The enfranchised slave passed into the class of the *metoikoi*, but could not become a citizen (Dion Chrysost., *Orat.* xv.). The freedman proved by his patron guilty of ingratitude could be returned to his former condition. "Be a slave," the law said to him, "since thou knowest not how to be free" (Val. Max., ii. 6).

slaves at Athens, a corps of bowmen, called Skythai (Scythians, from the native country of the majority), who did police duty, guarded the prison, and executed the death-penalty. Their number was at first three hundred, later raised to six, and finally to twelve hundred; and some of them even were employed in the army,—the *hippotoxotai*, or mounted archers.

It must, however, be said that the Athenians by no means escaped all the miseries of servitude. The Greeks having none of

ARCHER.<sup>1</sup>

that machinery which accomplishes the hardest part of modern work, the slave had this to do; and, as everywhere, he was subject to the commands of his master, whatever they might be. In suits the free citizens, who could not themselves be put to

ARCHER.<sup>2</sup>

the torture, reciprocally gave up their slaves to it under pretext of aiding justice. "Take my slave and put him to the torture," says a character of Aristophanes;<sup>3</sup> and the torture-chamber was amply provided with all that could make the flesh cry out. If the victim died, it was regarded as a matter of little consequence; he who lost the suit, paid his opponent an indemnity if the latter's slave had perished. The story is told—and this would be more shocking still, were it true—that Parrhasios, to reproduce in a picture the sufferings of the enchained Prometheus, put to the torture an old Olynthian captive whom he had bought.<sup>4</sup>

Not all the female slaves were retained in the household to spin and perform domestic duties. Their masters were at liberty to place them in houses of ill-fame, and much profit was thus derived. Slavery was indeed the plague-spot of the whole ancient world, but it must be admitted that it had in Athens a character of mildness elsewhere unknown; and we can expect of the Athenians nothing more than this.

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of a silver coin of Kydoneia in Krete, representing an archer stringing his bow; legend, KYΔΩΝ. On the obverse, a woman's head, left profile.

<sup>2</sup> A Kretan archer. An archer with his bow, accompanied by his dog, hunting in a pine forest. Reverse of an archaic silver coin of Eleutherna in Krete. On the obverse, Artemis the huntress, with the legend: ΕΒΕΝΘΕΡ.

<sup>3</sup> *The Frogs*, 616.

<sup>4</sup> Seneca, *Controv.*, v. 34. This is manifestly a rhetorician's invention; for the law never permitted an act of cruelty like this.

To make his legislation more secure, Solon established a solidarity among the citizens. They mutually owed each other protection; a man who witnessed a wrong done to another was obliged to give information at once to the authorities; in the case of a murder, the relatives of the dead man, his *gennetai*, must demand of the tribunals the punishment of the murderer. Lastly, to destroy the political indifference which in a republic is a mortal evil, he made this law, which is peculiar to himself: "In a civil war every citizen must take arms." — a law good in a little State and with a very enlightened people, because it secures the triumph of the true majority and puts the speediest possible termination to the war; good also everywhere, in critical moments, when questions are clearly put for Yes or No; bad, however, in a great State, whose regular existence must be a series of concessions gained by persuasion, and where the good citizen's place is midway between the passions of the extremists. Let it be granted even that one party manifestly has the truth, still a great political body cannot advance at one bound to this new truth without frightful damage, which would be avoided by a moderate transition. Montesquieu approves Solon's measure in causing the few wise and tranquil men in a community to take their place among the seditious; "thus," he says, "fermentation in one liquid may be arrested by a single drop of another liquid."<sup>1</sup> We may add, furthermore, that in the ancient republics, the magistrates having no armed force for their protection against the sudden attempt of an ambitious person, the friends of law and order needed to be always ready to rush to their defence.

This sincere friend of liberty protected it in all its manifestations. He is the author of a famous law authorizing citizens having the same interests to unite in corporations,<sup>2</sup> and this law passed over into the Roman code.

Solon did not feel that he had done an eternal work; he desired to have his laws yield to the influence of time, instead of resisting it to their own destruction. He established the right of the

<sup>1</sup> *Esprit des lois*, XXI. iii. If Montesquieu were living now, he would be of this opinion still more strongly.

<sup>2</sup> Gaius, in the *Dig.*, XLVII. xxi. 4, is of opinion that the Roman law *De Collegiis et corporibus* is only a translation of the law of Solon: Ἐὰν δὲ δῆμος, ἢ φράτορες, ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργάνων, ἢ ναύται, ἢ σύσσιτοι, ἢ ὁμοσφῶι, ἢ θιασῶται, ἢ ἐπὶ λαίαν οἰχόμενοι, ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν. . . .

general assembly to decide, at its first meeting every new year. whether there was occasion to create a legislative committee, the *nomothetai*, to introduce a new law or modify one existing. These changes were entered upon with the utmost solemnity. The proposition was publicly posted, that all the city might know



BUST BEARING THE NAME OF SOLON.<sup>1</sup>

it. Five advocates (*σύνδικοι*) were appointed by the people to attend the meeting of the committee and make a defence of the law which it was proposed to abrogate, and the legislative committee, selected by lot from among the heliasts, prepared the revision to be submitted to the senate for deliberation, and then to the general assembly for adoption or rejection. Thus order and clearness were maintained in the whole body of laws. If a new ordinance was incompatible with the old laws, the *nomothetai* officially called for a second examination. On these conditions a constitution is lasting.

<sup>1</sup> Bust of Pentelikan marble preserved in the Uffizi Palace at Florence: from Visconti. *Iconografia Greca*, vol. i. pl. ix., a. The head does not belong to the Hermes on which is engraved the inscription: *Σόλων ὁ νομοθέτης. Solon the Lawmaker*. It is believed to be the head of the poet Sophokles. Cf. H. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, vol. iii. p. 179. No. 363.

like everything in the world that wisely and prudently submits itself to transformation; for true life is movement, action, the search for the good, for the best, even. There is no absolute repose, except in death.

When Solon had completed his laws, they were engraved on wooden rollers and set up in the Akropolis, that they might be always in sight. But the lawgiver now found himself assailed with so many complaints and suggestions concerning the new code that he asked permission of his fellow-citizens to go away out of the country, which he did, after obtaining an oath from the senators and archons to preserve his institutions intact for ten years. During this absence he visited Egypt, where the priests told him of Atlantis, that great island which the ocean had engulfed; he visited Cyprus, and assisted the king of the country in founding a new city, Soloi, called from his name; he also went as far as the coasts of Asia Minor and the kingdom of Lydia. Here, according to a tradition which Herodotos relates, he met and conversed with Cræsus. The old narrator says:—

“On his arrival he was hospitably entertained by Cræsus, and on the third or fourth day, by order of the king, the attendants conducted him through the treasury and showed him all its grand and costly contents; and when he had seen and examined everything sufficiently, Cræsus said to him: ‘My Athenian guest, your great fame has reached even to us, as well of your wisdom as of your travels, how that as a philosopher you have visited many countries for the purpose of observation; I am therefore desirous of asking you who is the happiest man that you have seen?’ He asked this question because he thought himself the most happy of men. But Solon, speaking the truth freely, without any flattery, answered: ‘Tellis, the Athenian.’ Cræsus, surprised at his answer, eagerly asked him: ‘On what account do you deem Tellis the happiest?’ Solon replied: ‘Tellis, in the first place, lived in a well-governed State, he had virtuous sons, he saw children born to them all, and all surviving. In the next place, when he had lived as happily as the condition of human affairs will permit, he ended his life in a most glorious manner: for, coming to the assistance of the Athenians in a battle with their neighbors of Eleusis, he put the enemy to flight, and died nobly. The Athenians buried him at the public expense in the place where he fell, and honored him greatly. . . .’ Expecting at least to obtain the second place, Cræsus then inquired whom, after Tellis, Solon considered the happiest of men. ‘Kleobis and Biton,’ said the Athenian, ‘for they possessed a sufficient fortune, and had withal such strength

of body that they were both victorious in the public games, and moreover the following story is related of them: The Argives were celebrating a festival of Here, and it was necessary that their mother should be drawn to the temple in a chariot. But the oxen did not come from the field in time, therefore the young men, being in haste, put themselves beneath the yoke



KLEOBIS AND BITON.<sup>1</sup>

and drew the car in which their mother sat; and having conveyed it forty-five stadia [about five miles] they reached the temple. After they had done this in sight of the assembled people, a most happy termination was put to their lives, clearly showing that it is better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos, who were assembled, commended the strength of the youths, and the women felicitated her as the mother of such

sons; and the mother herself, transported with joy both on account of the action and of its renown, stood before the statue of the goddess and prayed that Here would grant to Kleobis and Biton, her sons who had honored her so highly, the greatest blessing man could receive. After this prayer, when they had sacrificed and partaken of the feast, the youths fell asleep in the temple itself, and never awoke more, but met with such a termination of life. Upon this the Argives, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made, and dedicated at Delphi.”



KLEOBIS AND BITON.<sup>2</sup>

Upon this, Crœsus was much displeased; but still further pursuing his inquiries, at last obtained from the philosopher the statement, that in his opinion no one while still living could be called happy, since man is altogether the sport of fortune, and the gods often, after showing a glimpse of happiness to a man, end by utterly overthrowing him. “When he spoke thus to Crœsus,” Herodotos relates, “Crœsus did not confer any favor on him, and holding him in no esteem, dismissed him, considering him a very ignorant man because he overlooked present prosperity and considered only what might be the end.” As for the two young Argives, the medical science of our time can very easily explain their death; but to the contemporaries of Solon it seemed, like all other things which surprised them, a special intervention of the gods.

<sup>1</sup> Kleobis and Biton harnessed to the car on which their mother is seated. Legend. ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Argos.) *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1869, pl. 23, No. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Kleobis and Biton harnessed to the car on which their mother is seated. (Glass from the Museum of Berlin, *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1869, pl. 23, No. 9 bis.)

Unfortunately these stories must be regarded as fictitious: inexorable chronology proves them false,<sup>1</sup> no less than does historic probability; but they were delightful to the imagination of the Greeks. To the Hellenic mind Croesus and Solon represent the two opposite civilizations of Asia and of Hellas: the one bowed down before its kings and their wealth; the other reserving all its love and homage for devotion to the gods and the country. While the story itself is false, it depicts with the utmost truth the ideal which the Greeks proposed to themselves, and in many cases attained. With their clear and active intellect they put it in the form of an anecdote, rather than of a theory which might be controverted, and Solon was appropriately its hero. Very often along with actual history we find an ideal history, which in certain regards is no less true than the other.

The name of Solon is one of the greatest in history. Action and thought, poetry and politics, all were united in him, and in all he displayed his gentle wisdom and his lovable virtue. We have but a few lines of his poetry left to us; of these we will quote his Invocation to the Muses. Seeking, as we do, to give the history of Greek ideas and sentiments quite as much as of Greek revolutions, this little poem has great value, opening to us the heart of a man who exercised vast influence over his fellow-citizens, and whom posterity still honors.

"Brilliant daughters of Mnemosyne and Zeus, Pierian Muses, listen! May I obtain from the immortal gods felicity, and from men a good renown: may I be gentle to my friends, formidable to my foes: in the former may I inspire respect, and in the latter, fear. I desire wealth, but acquired honestly; for chastisement follows close upon fraud, and the wealth it heaps up is not lasting: the eternal Ruler destroys it. The wind of the spring-time raises the tumultuous waves from the depths of the sterile sea, and devastates the laughing harvests of the fruitful earth, and then, in a moment, sweeps the clouds from the sky and renders it serene. Thus sudden is the vengeance of Zeus. His anger does not break forth every moment like that of man: but crime is never forgotten by him. Sooner or later, for each man the moment of expiation arrives. If the justice of the gods does not fall upon the offender himself, his children or his posterity shall suffer for him."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Croesus did not become king until 560; at that date, Solon was in Athens where he died the following year; but the defenders of the tradition maintain that Solon might have seen the Lydian prince when he was governor of Adramyttion under his father Alyattes.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 1-32. The poem is much longer, but is merely a development of the same ideas.



We cannot call it a Christian prayer, but these are the sentiments of an upright man with a salutary belief in the inevitable expiation of every offence.<sup>1</sup>

Let us also recall this sentence, which each of us should make his own: "I am constantly learning as I grow old."<sup>2</sup> He adds, however, with less wisdom, except at the close: "What I still love are the gifts of Cyprian Aphrodite, Dionysos, and the Muses."

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 356-362; and *History of Rome*, viii. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. — PLUTARCH, *Solon*, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Bronze statuette found at Olympia. From *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. iii. pl. xxiv. Cf. statue of Astarte, p. 326.



APHRODITE.<sup>3</sup>

